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ocean and producing Amrita, the indispensable to both of them. Mandara for a churning stick, and with the terrible snake, Shesha, they set the motion. Churned Amrita out of the ocean, the gods jerked at the serpent's tail, and the devils at its head from an of the name of the mountain (*Mandara*) was the act of *mantha* is obvious. The drilling apparatus was the West Indies, Greeks by the name of *trupation*; and the process of "Fire-making." Fire the Homeric Ulysses drilled a hole into the one eye of there clops is an exact reproduction of the Vedic process of making.

"Myself above them from a rising ground
Guide the sharp stake and twirl it round and round.
As when a shipwright stands his workmen o'er,
Who ply the wimble, some huge beam to bore;
Urged on all hands it nimbly spins about,
The grain deep-piercing till it scoops it out:
In his broad eye so whirls the fiery wood,
From the pierced pupil spouts the boiling blood."

Pope's Odyssey, IX, 382.

The name of the mythical Prometheus, who, as we have already shown, was a personification of the fire-spindle, proves that the Greeks at a very early age made fire by the same method.* In Rome, as Festus relates, "if the fire of Vesta were extinguished, the virgins were scourged by the priests, whose duty it was to drill a wooden spindle into a board of auspicious wood till the fire flashed out, which was then received and carried to the temple by the virgin."† The need fires (or ceremonies of new fire), the celebration of which was prolonged in all parts of western Europe far into the Christian age, and is even now not quite obsolete in Sweden, show that in the early pagan or pre-Christian times the same method of fire-making prevailed. In the Russian branch of the Eastern church the fire-drill is even now employed in one of the ceremonies, by which the anniversary of the beheading of John the Baptist is commemorated.‡ The

* A rather lengthy discussion on the identification of *pramantha* with *Prometheus* may be seen in p. 369-376 of Goldziher's *Mythology of the Hebrews*, London, 187; Longmans, Green & Co. The identification may be considered certain, if, as Mr. Kelly remarks, (Chap. II., p. 42), "a *Zeus Pramantheus* is mentioned by Lycophron as having been worshipped by the Thurians."

† Valer Max I, 1-6. The Hindus have also their "auspicious wood." The spindle is made of a piece of *Sami* wood, this tree being noted for its hardness. The receiving plank was made of the *Asmittha* tree, which is no less noted for its softness. See *Raghuvarsa*, III, 9. As to the hardness of the *Sami* tree, see *Manu* VIII, 247.

‡ Mr. Tylor's Chap. IX, where he quotes from a book published at Riga in 1760.

more simple process of twirling a without the help of a thong, is old foresters of Sweden, by the Portuguese by the peasantry of Russia, and by the of India, when no other means of obtaining Pliny remarks how commonly this primitive his own day by shepherds living in secluded reach of neighbours, and by the forlorn ing armies on march. In Switzerland at the day a fire-drill apparatus is made for children as a which leaves no room for doubt that the fire-drill was used for more serious purposes by their remote ancestors.*

The evidences, then, for the knowledge and use of the fire-drill among what are called the Aryan nations are as complete as the most confirmed ethnologist of the Aryan school could desire,—more complete in fact than Mr. Kelly has thought it necessary to shew in the chapter under review. The argument, however, is of no value, unless those who appeal to it are further able to show that the use of the fire-drill was exclusively Aryan, that is, confined to nations of the Aryan group to the same extent that the stick-and-groove method was or is confined to those of the Polynesian area. But the evidences against this limitation are overwhelming. As Mr. Tylor's researches have proved, there is scarcely any part of the world, except Polynesia, in which the fire-drill was or is unknown:—"Contrasting with this isolation of the stick-and-groove in a single district, the geographical range of the fire-drill is immense. Its use among the Austrians and Tasmanians forms one of the characters which distinguish their culture from that of the Polynesians; while it appears again among the Malays of Sumatra and the Carolines. It was found by Cook in Unalashka, and by the Russians in Kamchatka; where for many years the use of flint, and still could not drive it out of use among the natives, who went on carrying every man his fire sticks. It remains in use among the Lepchas of Sikkim, a Tibetan race of Northern India. There is reason to suppose that it prevailed in India before the Aryans invaded the country, bringing with them an improved apparatus (the use of the thong); for, at this day, it is used by the Yenadis, indigenes of South India, and by the wild Veddahs of Ceylon,—a race so capable of resisting foreign

* It is now thoroughly established that many of the toys used at the present day by children are reproductions of the instruments and appliances used by the ancestors of mankind for the most serious concerns of life. The toy of the fire-thong may have given rise to the spinning top. The use of the former toys is alluded to in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 578, quoted by Tylor.

innovations that they have not le
 "prevails, or has done so within recent
 "Africa, and it was in use among the Gua
 "Islands in the seventeenth century. In Nor
 "described as prevailing among the Esquimaux and
 "It was in use in Mexico; and a model, taken from an
 "Mexican picture-writing, shows the drill in the act of
 "twirled. It was in use in Central America, in the West Indies,
 "and in South America as far as the Straits of Magellan." Fire-
 making by the same process is also well-known to the Arabs; there
 is a Finnish poem still extant, which shews that it was in use
 among the Finns and Laps, the Ugrian nations of Northern
 Europe, till they became acquainted with the more expeditious
 process of striking fire by flint and steel.*

The modes of working the fire-drill have been many and
 various. The simplest and most common was by rolling it
 rapidly between the palms of the hand. This (as we have seen)
 was the practice not only of the most backward races, such as
 the Veddahs of Ceylon and the indigenous tribes of northern
 and southern India, but also of such advanced nations as the
 inhabitants of Peru and Mexico. The first improvement upon
 this process was the use of the thong, by which the fire-stick
 was twirled with more facility than by being rolled between the
 hands. This was and is the method used by the savage Esqui-
 maux, who roam the desolate regions of the Arctic circle, no less
 than by the polished Brahmin fire-priests who inhabit the
 sultry plains of India. The next improvement was the bow-drill,
 which in very ancient times was as familiar to the artizans of
 Egypt,† as it still is to the Sioux and Dacotahs of North America.
 The improvement lies in the fact that the thong is kept in motion
 by a bow instead of being pulled alternately by the two hands;
 and hence the operation can be performed by one person instead of
 two. The bow-drill, though not used in India for making fire,
 is universally used by Hindu carpenters for boring holes, and is
 called *barmâ* from *bur* or *bal*, the coil or twist of the thong.
 The last improvement upon all these methods was the pump-drill,

* Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, Chap. IX., p. 240, &c. The case
 as regards the indigenous or aboriginal races of India is much stronger
 than Mr. Tylor seems to have been aware. The wandering and preda-
 tory tribes of Northern India are quite as much accustomed to this
 method as the Yenadis or any other indigenous tribe of Southern India.
 A man of the Kanjar tribe, for example, can make fire (by twirling a stick
 between his two palms) with a rapidity equal to that with which a Brahmin
 can do so by twirling a stick with a thong.

† See Woodcut in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. iii, p. 144. Edit.,
 London, 1837: and a still better one, Vol. ii, p. 180.

est of Race.

not only in the South Sea Islands, but
of North America; and the historian
res it to be "an indigenous invention of great
pump-drill is used to this day in the workshops
boring holes in glass or china

independence, of these inventions, there is no reason to
The double use of the drill as a fire-spindle and a car-
penter's gimlet, such as prevailed in India and Greece, was no
less prevalent, as we have seen, in a non-Aryan country like Egypt.
It also finds a parallel among the wild Ahts of Vancouver's
Islands:—"The gimlet made of bird's bone and having a wooden
handle, is not used like ours: the shaft is placed between the
workman's open hands brought close together, and moved brisk-
ly backwards and forwards as on hearing good news; in which
manner, by the revolution of the gimlet, a hole is quickly bored.
Thus, also, did the natives formerly produce fire, by rubbing two
dry cedar sticks in the same way. A few slits opening on one
side, were made in a dry flat stick, and on the end of the rub-
bing stick being inserted into one of these, and twirled round
quickly between the palms, a round hole was made, at the
bottom of which ignition took place among the dust wood." †

The sanctity attached to the fire-drill, on which Mr. Kelly
relies so much, and its retention for religious uses after improved
methods of fire-making had been discovered, afford no better
foundation for his theory. Veneration for the past, especially in
matters where religious feeling is involved, is not peculiar to the
Aryans of the Oxus or to the nations of Europe and Asia, which
are supposed to have sprung from them. Some thousand years
before Herodotus set foot in Egypt, the Egyptians had learnt and
practised the art of making blades of metal. Yet Herodotus
tells us (Book II., 86), that in his own time, when a corpse was
brought to be embalmed, the incision in the body of the deceased
was still made with the old fashioned Ethiopic stone. "The use
of stone knives (as Sir Gardner Wilkinson has remarked) was
retained among the Egyptians for purposes connected with
religion on account of the prejudice still felt in favour of an
ancient and primitive custom."—Vol. III, p. 261. A still
closer analogy is presented in the ancient religion of Japan,
which, notwithstanding its complete supersession in the popular
mind by the more modern Buddhism, has still partially survived
as the official creed. One of the chief gods in this ancient
religion was Ilomusubi, the deity of fire, whose worship was

* See *League of the Iroquois*, by Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, Rochester, United States, 1851, p. 381.

† *Scenes and Studies of Savage life*, by G. M. Sproat: Edit, 1868, p. 87.

celebrated once a year with more than usual pomp, thus taking "occasions" (says a recent writer), fire was kindled by *agni* and "a drill. The fire-drill is mentioned several times in the *Shinshu* literature of Japan, always where fire is required for sacred purposes, and down to the present day it continues to be used "at the temples of the Sun-goddess and of the Goddess of Food "in kindling fire to cook the offerings."* Another analogy equally close may be drawn from the ceremonies connected with the sacred fire once kept by the now extinct nations of the Iroquois League at Onondaga, where the great council-fire at the solemn gathering of the Sachems was lighted by no other process than the old and sacred method of wood-friction.† Look whichever way we can, from the Old World to the New, or from ancient to modern times; and we find a parallel to the very observances or customs on the supposed individuality of which the custom-argument as applied to the Aryan nations depends.

II.—The concussion-method. This method as we have already shown, could not have been discovered before the later Stone Age, generally known as the Neolithic by which time men had acquired the art of polishing and sharpening the stones, flints, &c, used for the points and blades of their weapons. The sensation of heat produced by the rubbing of one mineral against another could not but suggest the proximity of fire, and the chipping of stones for the purpose of giving them a point or a smoother surface must have sent out sparks, the light of which would at once prompt men to look about for means to preserve the flame thus easily produced. The priority of the ancient friction-fire to the more modern flint and stone is explicitly asserted in the following verse taken from a Mongol wedding-song, addressed to the personified Fire:—"Mother Ut, whose father is the hard steel, "whose mother is the flint, whose ancestors are the elm-trees, "whose shining reaches to the sky and pervades the earth, &c."‡

As the earlier method (the fire-drill) was considered sacred by the ancient Hindus, and as the Vedic hymns and liturgies were compiled almost exclusively for sacrificial or other religious uses, we must not be surprised that the concussion method is very rarely alluded to in these ancient records. There is enough evidence, however, to show that Mr Kelly is mistaken, when he says that "the Aryans saw in the fire-drill (that is, in the friction

* *Mythology and Religious Worship of the ancient Japanese* being a review of the contents of three ancient texts, *Westminster Review*, Art. II. July 1878, p. 36.

† Morgan's *Ancient Society*, p. 137, Note Edit. London, 1877.*

‡ Castren's *Finnish Mythology*, p. 57: quoted by Tylor in *Primitive Culture*. Vol. II, p. 254: Edit. 1871.

ing as a Test of Race.

ring, model of the apparatus by which the fires were kindled." We might have assumed, indeed, were no evidence for the fact, that the slow and tedious process of wood-friction would be the last image that an ancient age or poet-philosopher would select for picturing to his mind the suddenness of the lightning flash, and that the concussion method would have suited his purpose much better. In point of fact this last is the explanation of lightning, to which the old poets of India have given expression in the Vedic hymns and elsewhere. Thus, in one of the invocations addressed to Agni (fire), the Fire-god is said to have been produced by the Thunder-god (Indra) through the collision of two clouds; * and here the word used for "cloud" is *asman*, which also signifies a rock, the clouds themselves being regarded as rocks or mountains diversifying the great plain of the sky.† One of the oldest and commonest words in Sanskrit for lightning is *tadit*, which means "the effect of a blow," being derived from the root *tad*, which signifies to strike. In the poems written since the Vedic age, clouds are said to contain a latent fire (lightning), which is regarded as a constant element in their composition. Thus, in Meghaduta, the Cloud Messenger, sloka 5, a cloud is said to be an union of smoke, fire, water, and wind, (*dhuma-jyotih-salilā-murutām sanarpātuh*); and in Raghuvansa, III. 58, it is said:—"As the cloud cannot "by its water extinguish the fire discharged from itself, so Indra "was unable to overcome, by the continuous shower of his weapons, "that storehouse of invincible fire." The idea that this latent fire is struck out by concussion appears in the later, as it does in the Vedic, poetry. Thus in Meghaduta, sloka 63, the rattling of the diamond-bracelets on the wrists of the sky-nymphs is said to produce a lightning-flash followed by rain: (for diamond and lightning were both called *vajra*, and their substance was believed to be one). In the Vedic hymns, Agni and Indra are sometimes coupled together as an associated pair, the Fire-god (lightning) being the appropriate companion of the Thunder-god. In the post-Vedic poetry the Cloud-Elephant and Lightning (Airāvata

* Rig Veda II., 12, 3: quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V., p 205, Edit. 1870. In Yaska's Nirukta or Vedic Glossary, among the synonyms of cloud are *asman*, *parvata*, and *giri*, all of which mean also "rock or mountain," (see p. 58 of Nirukta, Vol. I. Bibliotheca Indica, 1880.)

† In *Meghaduta*, sl. 14, the sky nymphs, (wives of the Siddhas), are said to look up with amazement at the cloud, wondering whether it is not the peak of some earthly mountain, which is being borne along the air (*adṛgh sringam vahati pavanah*). The recognition of clouds as aerial mountains appears in Shakspeare, *Othello*. V. II., 231:—"Are there no stones in "heaven, but what serve for the thunder?"

and Vidyut) are personified as husband and wife, thus taking the place, but not superseding the idea, of the associated Agni and Indra. * These allusions are sufficient to show what the Hindus thought of lightning, and how closely connected in their minds was the idea of its production with the ideas of cloud and concussion. On the other hand, there is nothing whatever to show that the Hindus took their notions of lightning from the wooden spindle.

The mythologies of the world are scarcely less rich in fire legends representing the concussion of flint or stone, than in those already quoted representing the friction of wood. The mythical bison of the North American tribes, careering through the plains, sets the prairie ablaze by his hard hoofs striking against the rocks. The great ancestor of the Dacotah tribes in the same continent obtained fire from the sparks, which the claws of a friendly panther struck out of the rocks, as it clambered up the side of a stony cliff. In the mythology of the Maories, at the other side of the world, thunder is the sound of Tawhaki's footsteps, as he strides over the solid pavement of the sky, and lightnings flash from his armpits. † Tohil, who gave the Quiches fire by shaking his sandals, was, like the Mexican Quetzecoatl, represented by a flint stone. Guamansari, the father of the Peruvians, produced thunder and lightning by hurling stones with his sling. Kudai, the Thunder-god of the Altaian Tartars, disclosed "the secret of the stone's edge and the iron's hardness." Thor, who next to Odin, was the greatest deity of the Scandinavian nations, held in one hand a mallet, which he grasped with gauntlets of iron, and a flint stone in the other; and he was worshipped as the god of thunder. ‡ The Slavonian Thunder-god was depicted with a silex in his hand, or even protruding from his head. § In the religion of China the Thunder-god holds a mallet or hammer in one hand and an ironspike in the other; and the Lightning-goddess is ever at his side holding a mirror in her hands, from which the

* In *Raghuvansa*, I. 36, we have a description of King Dilipa and his Râni seated together in a chariot of soft but solemn sound, as Airavata and Lightning ride together in a rain cloud, which produces the majestic rollings of thunder.

† Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, Edit. 1855, p. 80. Tawhaki was a mortal hero, who like Pururavas of the Hindus ascended into the sky in search of his immortal mistress, Tangotango, and their child. As soon as she was found and they were reconciled, "lightnings flashed from his armpits. Tawhaki still dwells in the skies and is worshipped as a god" and thunder and lightning are said to be caused by his footsteps when "he moves."

‡ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, Chap. V., p. 94. Bohn's Edition, 1859.

§ His name was Perkunas, which has been identified with the Sanskrit,

पर्जन्य. The last is derived from स्फूर्ज which means to thunder.

flash caused by the hammer is reflected to the world below. Taranis, the Gaul, had upon his head a huge mace surrounded by six smaller ones. Ukko, the Esthonian god, sends forth lightnings as he strikes his steel against a stone. The same god struck his sword against his nail; and from the nail issued "the fiery babe." In the Persian *Sháhnamah* the great hero, Hushenk, hurled a prodigious stone, which having smitten the dragon at whom it was aimed, struck a rock and was broken to pieces. "Light shone from the dark pebble, the heart of the rock flashed out in glory, and fire was seen for the first time in the world." The dragon escaped, but the mystery of fire had been revealed. Hephestus, the Greek Fire-god, is the divine blacksmith, whose forge is in the volcanic regions of Etna, and who is represented as furnished with an anvil and hammer. The Lapp Tiermes struck fire out of his own head, as he smote it with a hammer. Athene, the Lightning-goddess of the Greeks, started full grown and fully armed out of the forehead of Zeus, which Hephestus had split open with an axe. Tleps, the Fire-god of the Circassians, was the patron of metal-workers; like the Greek Hephestus or the Roman Vulcan. Far away at the other extremity of Asia the Thunder-god of the Japanese, in times preceding their conversion to Buddhism, was worshipped under the name of the Sounding Great Hammer.†

The flint and steel myths shown in this list are not less suggestive in their own way than the wood-myths, to which allusion was made a few pages back. We may be certain that such myths could never have been thought of, if the concussion method had not been previously known; and that they were invented for no other purpose than to explain, by a supernatural cause, the mystery of fire issuing out of such non-inflammable substances as stones and flints. The constant allusions in these

* Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, London 1868, p. 556, All persons in China are said to be thunder-struck, not lightning-struck, as lightning is only a reflection.

† On the religion of the ancient Japanese see page 38 of *Westminster Review*, Art. II, July 1878, where the now defunct Thunder-god is described. Most of the other myths alluded to in this paragraph have been collected from an article on fire by M. Elie Reclus in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, p. 229, and some have been quoted almost in the same words. The writer of the article himself gives them in smaller print as a quotation from some other writer; but he does not specify who this is. In one of his statements the writer appears to have gone astray. He says:—"In the Hindu Mythology thunder is conceived to be the clatter of the solar horses on the *Akmon*, or hard pavement of the sky." But there is no such word as *Akmon* in the Sanskrit Dictionary, nor does any pundit whom I have consulted, admit that the Hindus ever entertained any such notion as to the cause of thunder and lightning.

myths to the use of flint, hammer, or rock, verify what we had surmised already, that the discovery of the concussion method could not have been made prior to the Neolithic or later Stone Age, when the sharpening and polishing of flint-heads, &c., had come into general practice. It is strange, at least, on the Aryan theory, that although the Aryan tribes, who entered India from the north-west, had at the time of their immigration made the same advance in the manufacture of weapons that the Greeks had made in the time of Homer, yet there is no divine blacksmith in the Vedic pantheon answering to the Greek Hephestus, and no thunder-god armed with hammer and flint answering to the Scandinavian Thor; * while there are numerous analogies to both these deities among nations outside the Aryan or Indo-European area.

The modifications in the practise of the concussion method have varied with the natural products of each country. The Alaskan and Aleutian Islanders take two pieces of quartz rubbed with native sulphur, and strike them till the sulphur catches flame, which is then transferred to a heap of dry grass. The Esquimaux make fire by striking a piece of quartz against a piece of iron pyrites. The savages of Tierra del Fuego, at the opposite extremity of the American continent, follow the same practice, being in this respect in advance of the less savage Patagonians, their nearest neighbours, who still practise the friction method. In the Indo-Chinese peninsula and in Borneo and Sumatra, the natives strike fire with two dry pieces of split bamboo, which, on account of the hardness of the outer coating, serves the same purpose as flint. † Among almost all

* It is vain to look for any such parallel among the attributes ascribed to Agni, the Fire-god of the Hindus. Nor is any such identification claimed by Dr. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts. But this writer in his remarks on a Vedic god called Tvashtri (see Vol. v., p. 224), observes that "Tvashtri is the Hephestus or Vulcan of the Vedic pantheon." It should be observed, however, that the identification finds no support from the quotations given by Dr. Muir himself in his work on the Vedic Texts. In the first place, there is the difference of name, Tvashtri is derived from the root तृश्, which means to give shape or form. This god has no connection

with fire, and there is no sound of the hammer or the flint stone in any of his operations. Tvashtri is simply the personification of Form as opposed to Matter. Thus he is said in one place to give shape to the seminal germ in the womb, (Rig Veda I., 188, 9.) This is not much like the grimy blacksmith of the Greek pantheon, who was so ugly and dirty, that Zeus, his father, kicked him down from heaven into the sea of Lemnos. Tvashtri (according to Bémfy's Dictionary) simply meant a carpenter, and not an iron-smith, or a stone-cutter.

† These examples have been collected from different pages in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*. Vol. II, Chap. IX, where he quotes from many original authorities.

nations and tribes raised above the lower levels of barbarism, contrivances for striking fire and catching the flame on something specially prepared for the purpose have been in common use. In India, in ancient times, since the friction method was specially reserved for sacred uses, we may conclude that the fire-stone was the material employed, on ordinary occasions. At the present day the natives in some parts of India use two pieces of flint, (or flint and steel, if they have them,) and catch the flame upon dried sola, or upon dried cow-dung, or upon a piece of rag dipped in sulphur. The Hindi term *agniprastar* is an exact equivalent to the German *feuerstein* and the English *firestone*.

The negroes of West Africa have a method of fire-making, which combines the process of friction with that of concussion. They take a piece of level stone and hold it between their knees, and after sprinkling it with sand, rub a piece of wood upon it, till the wood catches fire.* This singular method, like the stick-and-groove of the Polynesians, appears to be peculiar to themselves.

The use of flint and steel, which marks the perfection of the concussion method, and is not yet extinct in Europe, may have come into vogue at any time after the commencement of what is called the Iron Age. It is certain that the A'rya tribes at the time of their migration into India were acquainted with the manufacture of iron and steel; for weapons made of these metals are frequently referred to in the Vedas. Visva-karma (a Vedic deity, who in his capacity of creator is not unlike the Demiourgos of Xenophon and Plato,) is said to have blown forth the births of the gods, as a blacksmith sends out sparks with his bellows.† Greece, Rome, and China were acquainted with the same art at about the same period.

Though the old method of wood-friction was the one employed in Europe and Asia in ceremonies which had their origin in sun-worship, yet in Europe at least the flint-method was the one selected as a safeguard against lightning. In Passion week the fire in every house, and the church candles burning on the altar, were extinguished. On Easter eve the priest re-lighted these candles with consecrated fire newly struck by himself from the flint:—

"On Easter eve the fiere all is quenched in every place,

"And fresh againe from out the flint is fetcht with solemne grace :

"The priest doth halow this against great dangers many a one,

"A brand whereof doth every man with greedie mind take home,

"That when the fearful storme appears or tempests black arise,

"By lighting this he safe may be from stroke of hurtful skies."‡

* Missionary Travels of Father Zucchelli on the Congo: Frankfort, 1715; p. 344. quoted by Tylor, p. 248, in *Early History of Mankind*.

† Rig Veda, ii, 26-3; Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V. p. 280. The Sanskrit for blacksmith is *karmāra*.

‡ Brand's *Popular Antiquities*: London, 1853, Vol. I, p. 157. Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, Chapter IX., p. 258.

Commenting on this Mr. Tylor remarks:—

"Here the traces of the Indian mythology come out with beautiful clearness. The lightning is the fire that flies from the heavenly fire-churn, as the gods whirl it in the clouds. The new fire is its representative on earth; and, like the thunder-bolt, preserves from the lightning flash the house in which it is; for the lightning strikes no place twice." Now, we believe, that every word of this comment is beside the mark. The Hindus have never held that lightning is produced from the heavenly fire-churn whirled by the gods in the clouds, or that any such thing as a heavenly fire-churn existed, or that lightning abstains from striking the same place twice. Moreover, it was the *flint* (as the quotation plainly asserts), and not the wooden spindle, which the priest used for kindling the new fire on Easter eve; and we have shewn already from the Vedas themselves and from the various mythologies of the world, Aryan and non-Aryan alike, that it was not the friction of wood, but the concussion of stone, which furnished the first notion under which the causation of lightning was pictured to the minds of the earliest interpreters of nature.* We hold, then, that the kindling of the flint-fire on Easter eve as a safeguard against lightning is one among many other practical manifestations of the old belief, common to almost all nations, that what hurts will also cure. Thus, lightning, if it could be mystically produced or symbolized by the priest through the concussion of flint and stone, was believed to be the best safeguard against itself.† Aerolites, which were thought to be stones hurled

* On referring the question to the pundits of the Benares College, I was informed (1) that the Hindus know of no ceremonies which could be performed as preventatives of lightning, but that *after* lightning had struck the king's house or a temple, it was considered an evil omen, the effects of which must be averted by a Homa sacrifice and by feeding Brahmins, (2) that there is no authority in the Hindu sacred books that lightning will not strike the same place twice.

† I have introduced the words *or symbolized*, because it is not known whether the priest's blessing was believed to change the nature of the flint-fire into a real spark of lightning, or whether the flint-fire was regarded as merely a symbol of lightning, to which the priest's blessing imparted a supernatural efficacy. The argument is not affected either way; for symbol has every where been substituted for reality, whenever the occasion required the substitution, and the two have often been confounded as one. — A long chapter might be written on the efficacy ascribed to symbols. Thus, in China, when parturition is difficult, a puppet representing the goddess of child-birth is placed on the woman, and made to walk downwards three times. (Doolittle's China, p. 85). In India, to effect the recovery of a patient, a live bird is sometimes purchased from a fowler who intended to destroy it, and the release of the bird from its captivity symbolizes and produces the patient's escape from the disease which holds him in bondage. (Fowlers, who catch and sell birds for this purpose, are called *Bāndī*). In the same

out of fractured thunder-clouds, have in all ages been treasured up by their possessors as safeguards against the fiery shock that produces them. Many of the stone arrow-heads and spear-heads, which archæologists have discovered of late, were found carefully preserved in private houses, the owners believing them to be meteoric stones and setting a high value upon their supposed efficacy to divert the aim of the lightning stroke. The common saying "a hair of the dog that bit you" has come down to us from the maxim contained in the Edda, that "dog's hair heals dog's bite." The spear of Achilles, as the Greek poets declared, could heal with the touch of its ashen staff the wound inflicted by itself. The scorpion's blood was and is still believed to be the best cure for the scorpion's bite. In the Middle Ages the flint-heads of arrows were called elf-stones, because fairies were believed to shoot them at their enemies from invisible bows; hence the best remedy for a wound so inflicted was to drink the water in which an elf-stone had been dipped. An ash stick dipped in the venomous juice of a shrew-mouse was believed to be the best cure for a shrew-mouse's bite.* The lines quoted above from

country it was thought that the best kind of devotion which a man could pay to the sun was to have an iron hook fastened through the flesh of his back and cause himself to be swung round by a rope, so as to perform a symbolical wheel in the air, and thus make himself a living emblem of the Sun's divinity. In Europe the rustics worshipped the sun by twirling a fire-stick in the nave of a cart-wheel. James the first believed that by melting little images of wax "the poisons, whose names they bore, might be continually melted, or dried away by continual sickness." (Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, p. 569, Ed. 1869). Among the Red-Indians of Florida, a man could be brought within the power of the sorcerer or medicine-man during his absence, if certain dancings, drummings, and incantations were performed over his effigy. (*Harper's Magazine*, March 1883, No. CCCXCIV, Vol. LXVI, p. 607.) Similarly, in the 8th Pastoral of Virgil, a shepherdess in love with Daphnis compels him to love her in return by practising spells and love-charms over his waxen image, he himself being absent during the ceremony and not caring to come near her. Thus there was no great difference after all between the mind of King James of England, the mind of the American savage, and the mind of the Roman poet. The whole history of idol-worship and of substitution sacrifices is summed up in the efficacy ascribed to symbols and their identification with the things signified.

* Though there is no mention of this homœopathic doctrine in the Vedas, yet the lower and ignorant classes in India have firm faith in the notion. Two cases have come within my own notice. One was that of a man who had been bitten by a mad dog. After the dog had been killed, its body was brought to the man's house and burnt. While it was being burnt, the man was made to stand over the smoke, and to inhale as much as possible of the odours and steam arising from the body of the dog, as it was thought that this would save him from hydrophobia. The other case was that of a man, who suffered from acute neuralgia in the side of his head. The pain was ascribed to some insect like a centipede, which had got inside his

the old English poem contain, then, a very forgivable illustration of this widespread homœopathic belief. The priest invoked a blessing upon the lightning-fire struck by himself out of flint and steel: and all who kept a brand lighted from this mystic spark felt that they were "safe from stroke of hurtful skies," until the next Easter day came round.

III. The third method of kindling new fire consisted in drawing a flame direct from the sunbeams. As this process involves a greater effort of inventiveness than either of the two preceding, it has been much less generally known. It was practised, however, and in some cases discovered independently, in every country of the four continents, in which a more than ordinary advance had been made in the arts and appliances of civilized life. The myth-making faculty, coeval with the childhood of the world, dies out with the growth of reason and the advance of scientific discovery; and hence the mythologies, which abound in legends of wood and stone, have nothing to tell us about the process of drawing fire from the sunbeams.

There are two different ways in which this process of fire-making has been applied; firstly, by means of a convex lens, made of some transparent substance, such as crystal, alabaster, amber, or glass, which when held against the sun concentrates the rays in a focus at some distance behind itself, the point of distance being determined partly by the refractive power of the medium, and partly by the curvature of its surface; secondly, by means of a concave mirror or heat-reflector, which, when held against the sun reflects the rays in a focus in front of itself, the focus in this case being the point half-way between the centre and the circumference of the circle indicated by the mirror.

The polished metal mirror was well known to the ancient Egyptians, the most industrious and inventive people of antiquity. One of the principal articles in a lady's toilet was the mirror. In Exodus XXXVIII, 8, we are told that the brazen laver made by Moses for the Jewish tabernacle was composed of the metal "of the looking-glasses (mirrors) of the women which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." These mirrors of brass were no doubt part of the plunder, which the Israelites, before making their escape, stole from the Egyptians under the pretence of borrowing. Many specimens of such mirrors have been exhumed from the ruins of ancient Egyptian cities, and some

flesh and was gnawing it. Accordingly his doctor took a live insect of this kind, mashed it up, and fried it in ghee with other ingredients, and applied the mixture to the part. Those who watched this treatment declare that the insect crawled out of the patient's head in the night, and some add that they saw the insect itself.

of those disinterred at Thebes were found, on being repulished, to be susceptible of a lustre, which a burial of some 3,000 years had only partially impaired.* Concave mirrors used as heat-reflectors have been found both in paintings and in fact. We are told, that among the means employed for smelting ore were "the blow-pipe, the forceps, and the mode of concentrating heat by raising "cheeks of metal round three sides of the fire, in which the "crucibles were placed." Specimens of these heat-reflectors are to be seen in the museum at Berlin: "they are about five inches "in diameter, and the same in depth, and present the ordinary "form and appearance of those used at the present day."† That the same mirrors were used for concentrating heat drawn from the sunbeams can scarcely be doubted, especially in a land like Egypt, which not only possessed a hot and rainless climate capable of being utilized for this purpose every day of the year, but suffered from the scarcity of fuel, and was forced to import most of its timber from foreign lands. A nation, which was ingenious enough to invent a heat-reflector at all, would certainly have been able to discover that this instrument could receive heat from the sun as easily as from any other source.

The glass lens is not mentioned by Sir Gardner Wilkinson among the works of art manufactured by the ancient Egyptians. But it is certain that glass itself, in various forms and for various uses, was made in Egypt from a very remote period. The process of glass-blowing is represented in the paintings at the tombs of Beni Hasan; and these were executed during the reign of Usurtesen I, that is, some 2,000 years B. C. "Many glass bottles "and glass objects of various other forms have been met with in "the tombs of Upper and Lower Egypt; and glass vases, if we "may trust to the representations in the Theban paintings, are "frequently shown to have been used for holding wine, at least "as early as 1490 years before our era."‡ The absence of any representation of the glass lens on the paintings exhumed from the tombs is no proof that the Egyptians were strangers to the use of such an instrument: for (as Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes) "the paintings indicate only a very small portion of their in- "ventions: many with which we know they were acquainted are "omitted; and the same remark applies to some of their most "common occupations, to the animals they kept, and to the "ordinary productions of their country."§. If we are to believe that the Egyptians were ingenious enough to invent glass and

* Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, Vol. III, p. 384, Edit. 1837.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 224. ‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 88-102.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 344.

make polished metal heat-reflectors, but not ingenious enough to apply this knowledge to the very simple process of making a lens, then the credit of this last invention must be transferred to the Greeks, although these were far less clever than the Egyptians in the discovery of mechanical arts, and junior to them in the practise of such arts by more than a thousand years.

The lens was known to the Greeks at least as early as the fifth century before Christ. This is plainly implied in the following dialogue quoted from the *Clouds* of Aristophanes:—

Socrates.—"Well: I will now set you another poser. Supposing
 • "some one filed a suit against you to recover five talents, tell
 "me if you can, how you would get it cancelled.

Strepsiades.—"I have thought of a way of cancelling the suit,
 "which you will admit is a very clever one.

Socrates.—"Let me hear what it is.

Strepsiades.—"Have you ever seen in the chemist's shops, that
 "stone, that pretty transparent stone, with which they
 "kindle fire?

Socrates.—"You mean the crystal, I suppose.

Strepsiades.—"I do.

Socrates.—"Well, what next?

• *Strepsiades*.—"Suppose I were to take this in my hand, and
 "while the clerk is entering the suit, I stood thus, at some
 "distance off, facing the sun, and melted out the letters.

Socrates.—"Clever, indeed, by the Graces."

The Romans were acquainted with lenses both of crystal and glass. This is clear from the testimony of Pliny (A.D. 23-79), who remarks, that glass balls filled with water, when held against the sun, became hot enough to set clothes on fire; and that a crystal ball placed opposite the sun's rays was considered by the surgeons of his own time to be the best means of cauterizing.* The credit of the invention of glass is ascribed by the same writer, (who in this respect was only following the popular tradition of his day), to the Phœnicians. It was generally believed in his time that the discovery was accidentally made by some Tyrian sailors, who happened to rest their cooking pots on blocks of natron (sub-carbonate of soda), and found on removing the pots that glass had been produced by the igneous fusion of the alkali and the sand of the sea shore.† It is certain that the manufacture of glass was practised by the Phœnicians from a very early period and to a wide extent; but it is not known whether the discovery was made

* Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI, 67; XXXVII, 10.

† Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI, 26-65.

independently or borrowed from Egypt. The superior antiquity and higher quality of the Egyptian specimens seem to point to the conclusion, that the knowledge of glass was acquired by the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and Romans, not by discovery but through intercourse with Egypt.

The concave metallic mirror is said to have been first introduced among the Greeks by Archimedes, the great Syracusan mathematician, who was killed by a Roman soldier in 212 B.C. immediately after the capture of his native city. The story of his having set fire to the hostile Roman fleet, as it lay moored against the city of Syracuse, has been generally regarded as one of the fables of history; but its possibility at least has been proved by Buffon, who made a mirror by which he set fire to wood at the distance of 200 feet, and melted lead and tin at 120 feet, and silver at 50 feet.* It was remarked by Pliny, in speaking of the concave heat-reflector, that "such mirrors facing the sun's rays produce ignition more easily than any other fire."† His contemporary Plutarch, the Greek biographer of Chœroneia, writing of the Vestal fire at Rome, says that this fire, when extinguished, "could only be re-kindled by drawing a pure and unpolluted flame from the sunbeams." His description of the process is as follows:—"They kindle the new flame with concave vessels of brass, formed by the conic section of a rectangled triangle, whose lines from the circumference meet in one central point. This being placed against the sun causes its rays to converge to the centre, which by reflection, acquiring the force and activity of fire, rarify the air, and immediately kindle such light and dry matter as they think fit to apply."‡

Turning from the Old World to the New, we find that the polished mirror was known to the natives of Peru at the time when the Spaniards discovered and conquered the country, A. D. 1511-1533, and had been known many centuries before. In Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Incas, (who were regarded both as the descendants and the viceregents of the sun), the feast of Raymi, the Sun-god, was celebrated once a year with great magnificence at the time of the summer solstice. For three days previously there was a general fast, and no fire was allowed to be lighted in the dwellings of men. When the appointed day arrived, the Inca and his court, followed by the whole population of the city, assembled at early dawn to greet the

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th Ed., Vol. III, p. 430; on *Archimedes*.

† Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* II, 111.

‡ Plutarch's *Life of Numa*, para 15, translated by J. Langhorne, 1841. His ascription of the process to Numa's time is of course fabulous.

rising of the sun. No sooner did his first yellow rays strike the tarrets and loftiest buildings of the capital, than a shout of gratulation broke forth from the excited multitude, accompanied by songs of triumph and the wild melody of barbaric instruments, that swelled louder and louder as his bright orb, rising above the mountain range towards the east, shone in full splendour on his votaries.* The fire for the sacrifice, which followed soon after, had to be given new and pure from the sunbeams. "For this purpose (says the Peruvian historian, Garcilaso), they took a bracelet, which they call *chipana*, (like the others commonly worn by the Incas on the left wrist) which bracelet the high priest kept. It was larger than the common ones, and had as its medallion a concave cup like a half orange, highly polished. They set it against the sun, and at a certain point, where the rays issuing from the cup came together, they put some finely carded cotton, which shortly took fire, as it naturally does. With this fire, thus given by the hand of the Sun, the sacrifice was burnt, and all the meat of the day was roasted." In the ancient tombs of Peru, mirrors of a hard, polished stone or of burnished silver have been found in abundance.†

* With these shouts of joy at greeting the rising sun, the reader might contrast the groans of anguish uttered by Hindus, when they see the Moon being eclipsed, that is, devoured as they think by the demon Râhu.

† Allusion to these mirrors occurs in Prescott's *History of Peru*, Chapter V, p. 144, Ed. London, 1850. The account given in the text of the feast of Raymi is taken verbatim from Chapter III, p. 98-107. Mr. Tylor (whose translation from Garcilaso de la Vega has been quoted in the text,) throws doubt on some of the details in connection with the Sun-worship as described by that writer, (see *Early History of Mankind*, Chapter IX, p. 250-253.) on the ground that Garcilaso's account of the virgins of the sun, and their punishment (if they proved unfaithful to the vow of virginity) of being buried alive, tallies too closely with the account given by Plutarch (in his life of Numa) of the vestal institutions at Rome. Perhaps the notion of burying the virgins alive may be ascribed to imagination on the part of Garcilaso, who being himself an Inca on the mother's side was too eager to seek for analogies, which would raise the fame of his great ancestral city, Cuzco, to a level with that of pagan Rome. But from the notes and references at the foot of Mr. Prescott's pages, it is clear that the institution of virgins for watching the sacred fire rests upon the authority of several writers besides Garcilaso; and Garcilaso is not so jealous about the purity of these so-called virgins that he cannot admit that the Inca was allowed to use them as his concubines. He would not have admitted a fact so damaging to his own argument, had he wished to press the analogy between Rome and Cuzco far beyond the limits of truth. Moreover, the institution of virgin-priestesses is known to have existed in other parts of the world. Thus, in the old pre-Buddhist religion of Japan two virgin-priestesses were appointed to have charge of the Sun-temple; (*Westminster Review*, Art. II., page 39, July 1878). And in South Africa the Demara chiefs made their daughters the guardians of the great tribal fire; (Article on Fire, *Encycl.*

Polished mirrors were as commonly used in Mexico as in Peru ; though their use in that country, as a means of drawing fire from the sun-beams, is matter of inference, rather than an accredited fact. We are told that the earliest temples of the Toltecs, the first rulers of Mexico, were dedicated to the Sun.* The highest god but one in the celestial hierarchy of the 'Aztecs, who succeeded the Toltecs, was Tezcatlepoça, which being interpreted, means Shining Mirror,—a deity who in his original nature was the Sun-god, and who thence came to be considered the soul of the world, creator of heaven and earth.† He was represented as a young man, and his image of polished black stone was richly garnished with gold-plates and ornaments; amongst which a shield burnished like a mirror was the most characteristic emblem, as in it he saw reflected all the doings of the world.‡ In the market of Mexico there was an abundant stock of mirrors made "of this same hard and polished mineral (obsidian) which served "so many of the purposes of steel with the Aztecs."§ Though there is no direct evidence that one of the uses to which these mirrors were put was for drawing fire from the sunbeams, yet there is every reason for supposing that this was the case, considering that the chief object of worship was the Sun, and that the air of Mexico is remarkable for its dryness and transparency. The discovery of fire-kindling by the action of the sun on the mirror might any day have come about by accident; and such a discovery when once made would have come into general use.

Returning from the New World to Asia we find that in China the practise of drawing fire from the sun is common among all classes of the people. The instrument used is not the polished mirror (as was the case in Peru, and probably in Mexico), but the transparent lens. In China, this is made of glass. There is reason to think that the practice of using a glass lens for the purpose of fire-making has been handed down from a remote antiquity. From time immemorial the state religion of China, (as distinct from the three unofficial creeds professed by the people), has recognized as its dominant doctrine the supremacy of the divine Tien or Heaven,—

Britannica, 9th Ed.) In all these cases the virginity of the guardians may be supposed to have represented the purity of the solar rays, or of earthly fire. Hence the analogy to which Mr. Tylor takes exception in Garcilaso's account may be ascribed to the uniformity of human instincts, rather than to inventiveness and fiction on Garcilaso's part.

* Prescott's *History of Mexico*, Vol. I, p. 164 : see note. London, 1860.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 62 : Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 312. London, 1871.

‡ Prescott's *Mexico*, Vol. II, p. 128. | § *Ibid.*, p. 118.

whose relation to the reigning emperor, and to all past emperors, is similar to that of the Sun to the former rulers of Peru. The manufacture of glass was one of the ancient industries of the country, for it is alluded to in the annals of the emperor Ou-ti (B. C. 140) of the Han dynasty. Northern China is especially noted for its glass manufacture at the present day; and the industry is believed to have been practised in that quarter from a remote period.*

In Siam the lens is used at this day, not for common purposes, but to produce new or sacred fire.† The Siamese lenses have probably been obtained from China, between which country and their own there has been constant intercourse for several centuries past.

In India the fire-lens was well known in early times, that is, in times long preceding the Mahommedan invasions, by which the country first became permanently opened out to the rest of the world. The following selections from the classical poetry of the ancient Hindus prove that they possessed this knowledge:—

"Then Rāma, the slayer of Tāḍakā, received from the Sage
"much pleased with his valour a magical demon-slaying weapon,
"just as the lens receives from the Sun the fuel-destroying "fire."

Raghuvansa, XI, 21.

"In the minds of ascetics, however cool and passionless their
"prevailing state may be, there is a latent fire which under
"provocation may burst out into a burning heat, as the lens, though
"ordinarily cool and pleasant to the touch, will send forth a scorch-
"ing flame, when another fire (the sun) stimulates it into action."

Sakuntalā, II, 41.

"Even the unconscious lens, when it is touched with the sun-
"beams, becomes charged with heat; how then can a man with
"any fire in his soul remain cool under the sense of injury
"inflicted by another?"

Bhartri-Hari, II, 30.

In the marriage ceremonies of Hindus the bridegroom puts his hand over the nuptial fire and leads the bride round it. In the *Harivansa* there is a scene where the bridegroom is said to touch "the fire latent in the gem" (*manistham jātavedasam*), and lead the bride around it, as if it were an actual flame. This incident, together with the last two quotations just

* *Journeys in North China*, I, 131; by Rev. A. Williamson.

† Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, Chap. IX, p. 249: where he quotes from two travellers named in the note.

given, shews that the Hindu poets misconceived, or at least misdescribed, the nature of their sun-stone. Instead of regarding it as a lens or transparent medium for transmitting the sunbeams and collecting them in a single focus, they supposed it to be a gem impregnated with a latent or potential fire, which was liable to break out into a flame as soon as the sunbeams excited it, just as they supposed that clouds contained a latent fire, which broke out into a flame in the form of lightning as soon as they received a blow. The word for the lens or sun-stone is *Suryakānta*, the Sun-beloved. The synonyms to *Suryakānta*, as given in the old Sanskrit dictionaries, show that the material was crystal, and not glass.* Crystal is the substance still chiefly used in Upper India for the manufacture of lenses. It is imported in blocks or rough lumps from Kabul, Naipál, and Hyderabad; and is ground into shape on convex or concave stones with the help of a tritulating paste. It is not improbable that the same or a similar method was used in ancient times.†

It has thus been shown that the fire-lens was known in Egypt, Greece and Rome, in India, and in China; and that the fire-mirror was known in Egypt, Greece and Rome, in Peru, and probably in Mexico. India lived in a world of her own, till the time of the Mahommedan conquest. China worked out her own civilization independently, and has till lately abstained from all intercourse with the outside world. Egypt takes precedence of every other country in the world, in regard to the antiquity of her arts and inventions. The New World only became known to Europe about four centuries ago. That discoveries of so complex a nature as the fire-lens or the fire-mirror, could be

* Hemchandra, (Benáres edition, p. 56, Sambat 1930=A. D. 1873) calls it a *sphatika* or crystal, of which he mentions four kinds, the sun-stone, the moon-stone, the milk-crystal, and the oil-crystal. Another Dictionary (*Haláyudha*, p. 14) says that the "sun-beloved" was a crystal, and gives as its synonyms *arkāman* and *dahanopala*. Glass (*kācha*) was likewise well known to the ancient Hindus. But none of the old dictionaries, as I am assured by Babu Raj Kumar Sarvadhikári, the Professor of Sanskrit in the Canning College, Lucknow, give *kācha* as the material of the "sun-beloved," while all give *sphatika*.

† This account of lens-making as practised at the present day in Lucknow is taken from Part III, under the heading *Ainak-sāz*, of the valuable monogram on the 'Trades and Manufactures of Northern India, by Mr. W. Hoey, C. S., Edit. Lucknow, 1880. Even in ancient times, when the Hindus as a nation were completely isolated from the rest of the world, there was a constant undercurrent of trade with Kábul and Naipál. The *chāmari* or chowrie, so frequently mentioned in the old literature, was the tail of the yák, the hairy cow which can only live in Thibet and similarly cold latitudes. The frequent use of this tail as a fly-brusher proves commercial intercourse with Thibet.

made independently, by nations having no ethnical relationship with each other, is a remarkable proof of the fundamental similarity of the human mind, and the consequent unsoundness of the argument which deduces unity of race from unity of customs, beliefs, and inventions. If the invention of the fire-lens and the fire-mirror cannot prove the identity of the nations inhabiting Egypt, China, India and Peru, still less can the unity of the so-called Aryan nations be placed upon the basis of such an extremely simple process as that of making fire by the friction of wood or the concussion of stone.

In a future number, we hope to offer a few remarks on the ceremonies observed in different parts of the world, in which fire is used as the object or medium of worship—ceremonies which are deduced by Mr. Kelly, and others from the alleged common ancestry of the Aryan nations, but which (as we think) can be better deduced from a general philosophy of fire, common to Aryans and non-Aryans alike.

JOHN C. NESFIELD.

ART. II.—THE MUSALMAN SCLAVS OF BOSNIA.

“**I**SLAM is overthrown,” exclaimed an Arab Shaikh, when he saw the red files of the English Foot-guards marching with the proud step of conquerors through the streets of “Misr-el-Kahira.” The same despairing cry went up from thousands of Moslem throats on the day when Austrian Yagers stormed the desperately defended mosques of the capital of Bosnia, and the accursed double-headed “Kirkis” * of the Kaiser was hoisted by bloody hands on the top-most battlement of the Yellow Tower of Serajevo.

“Bosna,” the Ribát, or Frontier Post of Islâm, against the advancing forces of Western civilization, the last lurking place of the old untameable Turkish spirit of war and plunder which, isolated from the rest of the Dar-ul-Islam by the intervening provinces of Servia and Montenegro, had long and gallantly supported the failing fortunes of the Crescent, had at length fallen under the yoke of the Giaur!

Bosnia and Albania are peculiar as the only provinces of the Turkish empire in Europe, where there is a Muhammadan population indigenous to the soil. In Roumania, in Servia, in Greece, the cessation of Turkish supremacy involved the disappearance of the Koran and the Shari’at. The ruined tomb of a Muhammadan saint at Buda is the only sign that Islam was once the religion of the ruling race in Hungary. But in Bosnian soil the creed of the Prophet has struck a deeper root: there it was professed not only by the Ottoman Sipâhi, who pastured his horse in the fields of his Christian vassals, or the Janissary, who divided his time between the guard-house and the wine-tavern in the towns, but by a large minority of the native Slav population, who, reversing the circumstances of the Norman Lords of Ireland, “*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*,” became more Turkish than the Turks themselves. Indeed, widely as they differed from their Osmanli rulers in race, language and customs, these Bosniak Slavonians were yet confounded with them under the general designation of “Turk” by their Christian serfs and neighbours, as well as by Western writers and historians.

Strange to say, it was to the evil spirit of Christian sectarianism, and not to any superior attractions of the faith of Islam, that this accession to the ranks of the latter was due. The Servians and Bosnians had loyally risen and striven against the Turk when

* The Turks always speak and write of the Russian and Austrian Eagles as “Kirkis,” “Vultures.”

the crusaders of Hungary, Poland and Germany had driven him back from the banks of the Danube to rally his beaten forces again on the fatal field of Varna. But the Pope and his Cardinals acted as grand mischief-makers, thinking this the time for finally extinguishing the lamps of Greek Orthodoxy, already languishing in the "pale, disastrous gleam" of the triumphing Crescent.

The Hungarian Magnates openly swore that they would tolerate no Eastern heresy or schism in the newly delivered Christendom. The sturdy Bosniaks who had fought gallantly in the common cause, and had shared in the common disasters of Kossova and Varna, were no wise minded to surrender all that they had fought for in the moment of their triumph. The rivalry between Pope and Patriarch became more bitter than the hostility between Christian and Turk. While this rivalry was at its height, the tide of Ottoman conquest returned with redoubled fury. Like the sea-beggars of Holland and Zealand, who wore crescents in their caps as a sign that they would rather serve the Turk than the Pope, these Bosniak Christians sought refuge from Rome in Islam. In one day seventy castles and fortified towns in Bosnia opened their gates and surrendered their keys to the Turkish infidel. The last Christian king of Bosnia was treacherously put to death by his captors, but most of the nobles saved their lives and their lands by embracing the faith of their new masters. Many of their adherents and retainers came over with them, though the mass of the population still retained their ancient creed.

No such wholesale conversion ever took place elsewhere during the whole march of Turkish conquest. In the sister kingdom of Servia hardly a single Christian apostatized. But Bosnia, the most westerly of all the Southern Slav states, was the only one which had become permeated with the feudal system of Western Europe, whereby all the power and property of the nation was vested in the small privileged class of the nobility. These powers and privileges they were naturally anxious to retain; and to this, as well as to their violent aversion to the Romish religion and ritual, is their sudden and almost unanimous apostacy to be ascribed. The conversion of many, if not of all of them, was at first a matter more of outward form than anything else, and many of them secretly harboured Christian priests in their houses; but in process of time they came to look with pride upon their Islamism, as an appanage and distinctive badge of nobility. For, by virtue of it alone, were they still able to lord it over the rest of the population as before. They still dwelt in their fortified castles, ruled over their serfs

with absolute sway, and extorted from the labour of their Christian vassals the means of keeping up their hereditary state and maintaining bands of armed retainers, whom they led under the banner of the Beglerbeg of the Province to serve the Sultan in his wars. Few Osmanlis settled in Bosnia; in Serbia where the people had remained Christian, the land was all parcelled out amongst the Turkish Begs and their Sipáhis, who lived upon the labour of the Rayahs. But in Bosnia the lands were kept by their apostate owners, who ranked with the Turkish Sanjak Begs (Lords of Standards) of other provinces. The most powerful of these Bosniak Feudal Lords were distinguished by their old Christian title of Capitano, and called by the Turks Kapitan. There were almost forty of these Kapitans and a larger number of Begs* who altogether formed a powerful hereditary aristocracy. Their renegade countrymen gathered around them, and, as time went on, the force of their example and the desire of escaping their oppression brought over more and more of the Bosniak * Rayahs to their master's new faith.

The position of the Christians was miserable in the extreme,—as bad as that of the Irish Catholics in the flourishing days of Protestant ascendancy. The state of Bosnia, indeed, much resembled that of Ireland at one time with an apostate aristocracy and yeomanry terrorising and tyrannising over an abject majority of their countrymen.

The only real Turks in Bosnia were the public functionaries, such as the Kadis and the Khojahs, and the suite and escort of the Pasha who was Beglerbeg of the Provinces, being nominated to that post by the Sultan, and who was generally a soldier of renown, for Bosnia was a frontier province of the Empire, and a continual guerilla warfare was carried on along the banks of the Drave by its Sarhad Aghas, or "Lords of the Marches," against their German and Venetian neighbours. It was at Essek on the Drave that the three hundred war-worn Ghazis arrived who had started from Sultan Suliman's camp before Vienna to ride through Germany with many more comrades who fell martyrs in countless daily encounters as they cut their perilous way through Bavaria and Styria. It was from before Essek on the Drave that Archduke Ferdinand's army fell back in that disastrous retreat which ended in the rout and massacre

* Rayah is the Arabic plural form of the Indian word Rayat. The Turks often use the plural form to denote the singular, as for example, 'Alama, a Doctor of the Law for 'Alim. The word رعایا Rayah, a husbandman, they apply to a Christian only.

among the woods of Walpo. The chase and war were the only pastimes of the Bosniak noble, and many a time did his valour save the frontiers of the Empire and arrest the victorious progress of the Austrian arms. After the defeat of Sultan Mustafa by Prince Eugene at Zenta, the Germans invaded Bosnia, but were expelled by a general rising of the Bosniaks, headed by the celebrated Daltaban Mustafa.

In 1738 they had to bear the brunt of the formidable invasion of the Prince of Saxe-hildburghausen, and it was principally owing to the desperate resistance of the Bosniak Begs to the invaders that the Grand Vazir Yegen Muhammad was enabled to expel the Austrians from Servia and to recover Belgrade. The general rising of the Christian Rayahs in that year was also quelled by the Begs of Bosnia, who came by surprise on the ill-armed and disorderly host of peasants on the banks of the Kolubara, and made a wholesale slaughter of them. The Austrian Military frontier, until a few years ago, bore testimony to the vigilant and unremitting hostility of these champions of Islam. Even as late as 1840 in spite of the watchfulness of the Austrian sentinels and patrols, outrages by armed parties, or by single Turks continued to be common along the frontier. But the whirligig of time has brought about its revenges, and the Bosniak Slav has now to serve in the very army which his ancestors defied, and to garrison the districts which they were ever ready to despoil.

During the eighteenth century the Kapitans and Begs retained all their privileges and powers unquestioned, and their position was continually strengthened by the increasing number of Christians who turned renegades to escape political oppression. These originally insincere conversions led to a curious state of affairs. Christians and Turks were often found in the same family: sometimes the head of a family had apostatized to keep his land, while his wife and children remained Christians. Whole villages went over together to the faith of the rulers. The Slav Musalmans retained many of their Christian customs and superstitions; they kept their faith in the vampires, witches and the fairies: they confused the saints of the Christian and the Muhammadan calendars in a ludicrous way. A Musalman Beg has been known to take a Christian priest to the tomb of his ancestors to say masses for their souls. These Bosniaks seldom practised polygamy, and their women went about unveiled. The men wore short dresses instead of the long-skirted Turkish habits. The Begs affected much martial finery: in war they wore coats of mail, or wolf-skins and bear-skins, the grinning heads of which surmounted their casques. Their tactics were suited to the

wooded and hilly nature of their country: they fought on foot, after the fashion of the Scotch Highlanders: each Beg with his standard-bearer being at the head of a dense column of his retainers and dependants. When bent on close quarters they fired one volley and rushed on sword in hand; but they excelled in a guerilla warfare of surprises, ambushes, and skirmishes. Old cannons were mounted on the crumbling battlements of their castles, on some hill overlooking the lands which they ruled as petty despots, brooking no interference from the Pasha, to whom they allowed only the shadow of power. After the loss of Buda, the Beglerbeg of Bosnia received the title of Vazir from the Porte, as the Governor of the most important frontier province of that Empire. But the Vazir had less real authority in Bosnia than the pettiest chief among the hereditary aristocracy: he had none of the absolute power which the Pashas possessed in other provinces. The Janissaries, who ought to have been at his orders, were in close alliance with the Begs and Kapitans. Their regiments stationed in Bosnia were entirely recruited among the Slavonic Muhammadans: and most of the Kapitans and Begs were enrolled as what we should call Honorary Members of the corps and had the *nishân*, or badge of their regiment, tattooed upon their arms. Great numbers of the Musalman Slavs were also enrolled as Yamak or Reserve Janissaries, who never appeared in the ranks except at stated periods for muster. These men helped to swell the numbers of the corps, and to augment its influence; and the possession of the keys of the fortresses, their strong *esprit de corps* and their peculiar organisation, made the Janissaries the most powerful body in the empire. Being of Slav blood, those of Bosnia naturally sided with the Begs against the Osmanly Vazir: and between them they governed the country, the Janissary Colonels ruling in the towns and the Begs in the country districts. They at last declined to permit the Vazir to reside permanently at the Capital, Serajevo, but made him take up his abode at his country-house of Travnik. A fine palace had been built for the Vazirs at the former place, which the Turks called Bosna Serai (the Bosnian Palace). But the Pasha was not allowed to inhabit it. When a new Vazir arrived he was permitted to spend one night in it at Serajevo, and was sumptuously entertained at the expense of the town, after which he had to move on to Travnik.

If the Vazir made himself obnoxious or proved restive, the Janissaries could always procure his removal by representations to the chiefs of the "Ojak" (Kitchen-range) as the Janissary head-quarters at Constantinople were called. Sometimes the Porte was prevailed upon to give Bosnia a Vazir of Slavonian

extraction, but this did not often happen : the policy of the Court at Constantinople being generally based on the maxim *Divide et impera*.

Thus the Muhammadan natives of Bosnia enjoyed a degree of political independence rarely to be met with under an Eastern despotism : but this state of things was not destined to last. At the beginning of the present century the Ottoman Empire was in a state of confusion bordering on anarchy.

The Sultan Selim, the Third, an enlightened and intelligent Monarch, saw that the only hope of saving the State from ruin lay in the reform of its institutions, but the privileged classes were bitterly hostile to all innovations. The East presents a complete antithesis to the West in political matters : there, reform is introduced by the Sovereign against the wishes and in spite of the opposition of the people. Revolution begins from above, and not from below. Sultan Selim's first attempts at reform were directed to the re-organization of the military forces of the Empire : and his measures were especially obnoxious to the Janissaries. The regiments quartered at Belgrade broke into open mutiny, seized the citadel, and murdered the Pasha. They made themselves masters of the whole country, dividing the lands among themselves, and expelling the Government officials and all the Turks who would not join them. They enriched themselves by plundering the Christian inhabitants, treating them as conquered enemies.

The Sultan thundered forth impotent firmauns against them, denouncing them as traitors, and threatening them with vengeance : but he had no forces to send against them, and they only laughed at him. The Servian Janissaries were mostly Musalman Slaves, and their brethren in Bosnia, hearing of their success, came flocking to join them. All the Musalman rabble of the Bosnian towns set off to share in the plunder of the Servian Rayahs. *Budmashes* who had taken nothing with them into Servia but their swords, were soon to be seen swaggering at Belgrade, dressed in silks and furs, and mounted on Arab horses. They made free as they listed with the property and the women of the Christians : there was no law in the land, but the word of the Janissary officers.

The condition of the Rayahs, which had been bad enough under the Pashas, became now intolerable : every man who could wield a weapon fled from his farm, or village, to join the bands of Haiduks who everywhere made the roads unsafe, and robbed from the Turks what they had taken by force from the Christians : a Servian farm-labourer married a young girl of the village in the winter time. One day, when the spring

had melted the snows on the mountains and the trees of the forest were putting forth their leaves, the wife was sitting spinning in her cottage, expecting her husband to return from his labour, when he suddenly appeared before her clad in a warrior's garb and glittering with arms. "Woe is me," she exclaimed, "I have married a robber." "There was no one to marry who was not a robber," replied he, "the Turks have made us all robbers now." And he went off to join his comrades in the woods.

The Janissaries took fright at the openly manifested hostility of the people, and attempted to strike terror into them by wholesale executions: the result was the opposite of what they had hoped and intended. A general rising took place: the Haiduks issued from the woods and descended from the mountains: every peasant who could shoulder a scythe or grasp a goad joined them. The Janissaries, scattered through the country, were cut off and slain: those who escaped shut themselves up in the fortified towns, which the Christians blockaded. The Janissaries now tried conciliation; "Why come the Sultan's Rayahs," they asked, "to attack the Sultan's fortresses?" The Servians replied that they came as loyal subjects of the Sultan to punish mutineers and rebels against his authority.

The news of these events created consternation at Constantinople: the Divan was dismayed at the news of an armed rising of the Christians, and even the "Lords of the Kitchen-range" thought matters had gone too far. Sultan Selim was proportionately elated, and he at once sent orders to Bakir Pasha, the Vazir of Bosnia, to march to Belgrade, quell the mutiny of the Janissaries, and restore order to Servia.

But the Bosniak Musalmans sympathised warmly with the Janissaries, and bands of them had already crossed over into Servia to assist the mutineers against the Rayahs: it was with difficulty that the Vazir could raise a body of three thousand men: with these he started for Belgrade. His followers could not conceal their disgust at being led to the assistance of Christians against true believers. When the army reached Schabaz they met a band of Haiduks who, with music and a banner, were on their way to join the Christian camp before Belgrade. "I have been young and now am old," exclaimed a grey bearded Bosniak, "but never till this day did I see a robber's standard unfurled!" Their displeasure and astonishment increased at the sight of the numerous and well-appointed army of Christians which was besieging Belgrade, commanded by men who had served in the Austrian army and furnished with cannon

taken from some of the captured Palankas (Palanka is the name for a small fort or block-house in Bosnia and Servia, probably derived from the Latin *planca*, a stockade).

Bakir Pasha took command of the combined forces before Belgrade and summoned the Janissaries to surrender. They lost heart and yielded up the fortress: the ringleaders of the mutiny attempted to escape, but were overtaken, seized, and executed.

Bakir Pasha now required the Servians to lay down their arms: but they demurred, stipulating for guarantees that they should not again be subjected to the irresponsible tyranny of the Turkish soldiery. While negotiations were going on, a new Pasha was appointed to Belgrade, and Bakir Pasha returned to his Government of Bosnia: Sultan Selim was at last, against his inclinations, obliged to yield to the demands of the fanatical party, who insisted that no correspondence should be held with Rayahs with arms in their hands. The Servians positively refused to lay down their arms unconditionally: and a new civil war began, Christian against Muhammadan.

The Bosniak Musalmaus were not slack to commence hostilities.

In the beginning of 1806, Osman Beg crossed the Drina and burned many a Servian homestead; but while his men were scattered plundering, the Christians came on him by surprise, and killed him and most of his men. Old Muhammad Kapitan also crossed the frontier, but the Servians met him in the open field and beat him back. Meanwhile the Sultan had sent orders to the Pashas of the surrounding provinces to invade Servia on all sides. Bakir Pasha was to lead all the forces of Bosnia to enter Servia from the West.

This expedition was as popular with the Musalmaus as that against the Janissaries had been distasteful to them: and all the Kapitans and Begs flocked to join the Vazir's standard. The host mustered thirty thousand of the bravest and best of the Bosniak Musalmaus, with a few Osmanli Turks and Albanians. The Vazir did not himself accompany it, but entrusted its leadership to two of the Bosnian nobles, Muhammad, the oldest and most experienced, and Kulin, the youngest and boldest of the Kapitans. The latter, who was especially distinguished among his fellows by his noble lineage, his courage and his cruelty, was named by the Vazir Seraskier, or Commander-in-Chief of the expedition. Such a gallant muster of the warriors of Bosnia had not been seen for a long time, and it was fully believed that the army had only to shew itself in Servia to ensure the submission of the country.

The result was, however, very different from what was anticipated.

It was in the latter part of the summer of 1806 that the Bosnian army under the command of the two Kapitans entered Servia. They laid waste the whole country with fire and sword and committed fearful atrocities on the Rayahs, whom they treated as being all allies, or at least well-wishers of the patriots or Haiduks. The terrified inhabitants fled to the woods and hills for shelter, or crossed the Save into Austrian territory. The invading host marched straight for Belgrade. A band of fifteen hundred Christian patriots, who attempted to bar their way, were exterminated. Czerny George, the patriot leader, at whose touch, in the spirited language of the Prince of Montenegro, the Turkish mosques fell to the ground, was employed in the South in repelling a Musalman incursion from the side of Albania; but, as soon as he heard that a * Turkish army had crossed the river Drina, he hurried to intercept it. Everywhere, as he passed, he raised the country: as he entered the districts already desolated by the invaders, the people came forth from their hiding-places and joined him: and he arrived in the neighbourhood of Schabaz with seven thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Kapitans had passed the Kolubara; but, hearing that Czerny George was in their rear, and finding the whole country rising against them, they judged it prudent to retreat to Schabaz. Czerny George entrenched himself with earthworks and felled trees on their approach. The Servian leaders, despairing of success, made efforts at accommodation. They despatched envoys into the Turkish camp with proposals for a truce. But Kulin Kapitan would hear of nothing but an unconditional surrender. He led the envoys into the camp and bade them look round upon his troops. "Seest them," said he to one of them, "these numberless men?" "There is not one of them who would fear to seize with his naked hand the edge of a brandished sword!" The Bosniaks bade the people of Schabaz and of the country round to come out on the hills and see the battle: "We will shew you," they said, "in what fashion we shall deal with the Haiduks."

For two days, however, the Kapitans reconnoitred the strong position chosen by Czerny George, and skirmished with the Servian outposts, trying to induce the patriots to descend into the plain, but on the third day, ashamed of further delay before an inferior enemy, they determined to storm the Rayah's position. They drew up their army in battle array in a line of dense

* As we have before observed, the Christians always called the Musalman Slava by the name of Turk. They were, however, readily distinguished from the real Turks by their Slavonic patronymic, which they used in addition to their adopted Musalman name: as Muhammad Fotchitch; Ali Vidayitch. Even the Janissaries were enrolled under their Slavonian surnames.

columns, the bravest Begs of Bosnia bearing their standards at the head of their men. Conspicuous in their ranks were the white caps of the Janissaries and the heron plume of their Colonels. The serried mass, glittering with sabres and gay with standards, extended completely across the glade in front of the Servian entrenchments, the flanks of which were protected by dense forest. The Christians lay close within their works, Czerny George having ordered his men to reserve their fire till they could see the whites of the Turks' eyes. He sent off all his cavalry under cover of the woods to fall on the rear of the assailants.

Kulin Kapitan gave the signal for advance, and the whole army moved on without firing to the assault of the entrenchments. The Servians reserved their fire until the assailants were close, and then poured in a murderous volley. When the smoke cleared away, all the standards were down. Kulin Kapitan, Muhammad Kapitan, and many of the Begs were killed on the spot, and many others had fallen desperately wounded.

Almost all of the front ranks of the assailants had shared the same fate: the rest paused in dismay: and, before they could recover from their confusion, Black George had leapt over the breastwork, sword in hand, calling on his men to follow him. At the same instant the Servian horsemen appeared in the rear. The rout of the Turks was complete; and when the fugitives paused under the walls of Schabaz, it was found that the flower of the Bosnian youth had fallen. The few chiefs who had survived hurriedly held a council of war in which it was resolved to leave a garrison in Schabaz and lead back the rest of the army across the Drina. During their retreat they suffered nearly as much as in the battle itself from the continual assaults of the Haiduks and country people, and only a remnant of them crossed the Drina in a miserable plight. The tidings of the fatal day at Schabaz filled all Bosnia with mourning, and the blood of the Christians slain by the Begs at the Kolubara in 1738, was at last avenged upon them. In February of the next year the Christians took Schabaz and massacred the Bosnian garrison, and they then attempted to carry the war over the Drina: they tried by every possible means to excite the Rayahs of Bosnia to revolt; but their Musalman masters were still too strong for this, and they drove the Servians back across the river. A border warfare was carried on for some years between the Musalmans of Bosnia and the Servian patriots: and in 1812, when the conclusion of peace with Russia left the Porte free to operate with all its strength against Servia, an army of forty thousand Musalmans was again mustered upon the Drina by

the Vazir of Bosnia. They marched to Belgrade this time and recovered the scymetar of Kulin Kapitan, which had been kept by the Servians as a trophy. In 1816 the Rayahs of Serbia were once more in successful insurrection, and Khurshid Pasha of Bosnia again called a general levy of the Musalmans to subdue them: but this army was halted on the frontier by orders from Constantinople. The fear of a general insurrection of the Christians throughout the empire, the threatening attitude of Russia and the mutinous condition of the Janissaries, had at last determined Sultan Mahmud to grant the reasonable demands of the Servian Rayahs. He was occupied, like his brother and predecessor, Selim, with projects of reform, and he found the same opposition still in full force.

He was obliged to carry out his projects by stealth, by the aid of the few men on whom he could rely and who were admitted to his secrets. One of these men was Jelaluddin Pasha, whom the Sultan appointed Vazir of Bosnia in 1817. He had secret instructions to break the power of the feudal aristocracy of Bosnia and to make the authority of the Sultan feared in the land.

Jelaluddin was a man of great force of character: he was a Dervish of the Bektashli sect, which gave him some influence with the Janissaries, (Haji Bektash was the patron saint of their, "Jama'at," or corps,) though he was at heart their bitter enemy. He was austere in his habits, affected no State, and kept no harem. He was more like a Wahábi Puritan than a Turkish Pasha. He dispensed inexorable and impartial justice, and treated all the subjects of the Sultan, Christians and Musalmans, alike. The Rayahs were of course overjoyed at having a Pasha who would inquire into their grievances, and even insist on their being redressed. The Musalmans were captivated by the simplicity and sincerity of Jelaluddin's life. But the nobles hated and feared him, and he ruled them with a rod of iron. He had many of them, who shewed symptoms of revolt against his authority, seized and executed: he at the same time played them off against each other so adroitly, that they could never succeed in combining against him. He made Bosnia peaceful and orderly: under his hand the most turbulent Begs became as docile as the Rayahs. At last his enemies persuaded the Janissaries to demand his recall: they even stated in their petition to the Oojak at Constantinople that Jelaluddin was secretly a Christian. The Sultan formally recalled him, but privately desired him to continue at his post, while he pretended to the Janissaries that he was busy choosing his successor. In 1820 Jelaluddin Pasha led a Turkish army to the conquest of

Montenegro. But he was totally defeated by the brave mountaineers and lost a great part of his army.

He returned to Bosnia, where he died in 1821, heart broken, some said, by his defeat: others say that he was poisoned by some of the Begs. Immediately upon his death the province relapsed into anarchy: the nobles resumed their former habits, each man doing what was right in his own eyes: they carried on petty wars with each other, plundered their neighbours, and oppressed the Christians, treating Jelaluddin's successor in the Pashalik with lordly contempt. Things went on in the old way, till one day the news of the massacre of the Janissaries at Constantinople and the dissolution of the corps electrified the bazaars at Serajevo. One-sixth of the inhabitants of that town were Janissaries; the whole country was in a ferment. "If we have to cross ourselves," said the Musalmans, alluding to the cross belts of the new uniforms, "we have no need of a Sultan: we may as well serve the Emperor of the Nems (the Emperor of Germany)."

Sultan Mahmud was absolutely without any force to compel obedience to his authority; but he ordered Abdur Rahim Pasha of Belgrade to assume the government of Bosnia, and to punish the recalcitrants. Abdur Rahim was a sickly and feeble man, but with a fund of quiet and wily determination, and versed in the arts of oriental intrigue. He entered Bosnia with only six hundred men, gained over some of the Kapitans to his side and succeeded in sowing dissensions among the others. Milosh and the Servians, who hated the Musalman aristocracy of Bosnia, supported him. He thus gradually made himself master of the country. When he felt himself secure, he took fearful vengeance on the nobles and the Janissaries. He executed a hundred of the latter in Serajevo alone, thirty of them in one day. He made the Kapitans put on the new uniforms. He would not go to Travnik, as former Vazirs had done, but took up his residence in Serajevo. Every thing seemed to have settled down quietly, and the Bosniaks appeared to have accepted the new order of things; but they were secretly discontented and only awaited a favourable opportunity to show their real feelings. It soon came.

In 1828 Russia declared war against Turkey. The Sultan ordered the usual levy of all the forces of the Empire, and Abdur Rahim Pasha summoned the Begs of Bosnia to meet him at a rendezvous near the Servian frontier. The Sultan ordered Milosh, the Prince of Servia, to give the Bosniaks a passage through his country, saying that all damage done by them should be made good: "if an egg was taken of the value of one para, the owner should receive two paras." But Milosh, who

knew the Bosniaks well, and also the value of the Sultan's promises, declared that they should never pass through his country, happen what might. The Bosnian Musalmans themselves, instead of being anxious to march against the Russians, were only bent on taking advantage of the Sultan's difficulties. By a concerted plan, some of the Beks, on their way with their troops to the rendezvous, halted near Serajevo. The Pasha sent his officers to order them to proceed on their march; but they demurred under various pretexts. Some of their followers were insolent to the Pasha's Secretary, and he ordered them to be arrested; this was the signal for a rescue and a riot, the Pasha's officials were beaten: he sallied out with three thousand Turkish soldiers to rescue them: the populace of Serajevo joined the malcontents on a preconcerted signal, and, after some hard street-fighting, Abdur Rahim and his men were driven into the citadel. From thence he cannonaded the town, while the rioters manned the houses all round, and kept up a continual fusillade upon the castle. When the news of the outbreak reached the place of rendezvous, some of the Beks hurried to join the rioters at Serajevo, while others dispersed their followers and went home. After standing a siege of a week, Abdur Rahim came to an agreement with the insurgents, and was allowed to evacuate the citadel and leave Bosnia with his guns, arms and baggage. He went off to the Russian war with the few Turkish troops he had with him, and left the Bosniaks to manage their own affairs. The new uniforms were collected and burnt in a bonfire at Serajevo. "We will serve the Sultan," said the Bosniaks, "but we will serve him in the same dress, and with the same accoutrements as our forefathers." The Beks resumed their petty wars with each other. Some of them marched to the Russian war, but they were too late to be of any service: they had only reached Philippopolis when peace was proclaimed and they led back their troops to Bosnia.

Sultan Mahmud, having got rid at length of his Russian and Greek enemies, now proceeded to deal vigorously with the rebels against his authority and the opponents of his reforms. He was determined to carry out his mistaken policy of crushing and annihilating the feudal aristocracy which had begun to spring up in the Ottoman empire, and to treat the Beks of Bosnia as he had already treated the Dere Beks of Anatolia, and as Muhammad Ali had treated the Mamluk Beks of Egypt. He now sent a new Vazir into Bosnia, with Commissioners who were to enquire into the causes of the disaffection in the country. But the Bosniak nobles, led by one of the Kapitans, Husain Kapitan of Gradashatz, seized the Vazir and made him put off his epaulettes

and frock coat, and put on the old Turkish dress : then they made him go through his ablutions and prayers as prescribed by the Moslem ritual to satisfy them that he had not become a Christian by wearing a Frankish dress. They kept him prisoner, intending that he should serve as a hostage ; but he escaped across the frontier into Austria. The Begs and Kapitans all met at Serajevo, and laying aside their feuds for a time, elected Husain Kapitan as their leader. Husain was one of the noblest and most powerful of the Kapitans ; he was young and handsome, and, in the words of his admiring countrymen, "brave and magnanimous as a lion." He had the faults, too, of his class and nation, intense vanity, boastful arrogance, and childish credulity.

The Bosniak chiefs all took the field with their forces to resist the Sultan's authority. They had formed a close alliance with Mustapha, the hereditary Pasha of Scutari (Iskudara) in Albania, who was called by Christian writers "Scodra Pasha." This man was of a noble Slavonian family, whose ancestors had apostatised to save their broad lands of Scutari. He was a Janissary, and a most determined enemy of the Sultan's reforms. But both he and Husain Kapitan were totally unfit for the conduct of great enterprises. The Sultan sent an army of regular troops to quell the revolt under the command of Rashid Pasha, the Grand Vazir : Scodra Pasha took the field alone against it, and was beaten back to Scutari.

Husain Kapitan, with all the forces he could raise in Bosnia amounting to twenty-five thousand men, set out to relieve him.

"We go forth to Kossova, where we lost our old Christian faith," said the Begs, "to fight for our Moslem one : we will not lose it, too." Like Orientals, they attached more importance to externals than to essentials, and really believed that turbans and kalpaks, crooked sabres and loose garments, were necessary to the existence of the faith of Islam upon a sound basis : they were thoroughly imbued with the dogged conservatism which that faith seems, in all ages and in every country, to impress upon its votaries.

Rashid Pasha, finding himself between the Albanians and Bosnians, had recourse to diplomacy of the Turkish sort. He affected an interest in the Begs, and was eager to satisfy any reasonable demands that they might make. Husain and his friends were duped by him : they entered into negotiations : the Grand Vazir asked them to name their own conditions : they named two : the total abolition of all reforms and the re-establishment of the old order of things in Bosnia : and, secondly, the appointment of Husain Kapitan as Vazir of the Province. The

Grand Vazir assented to these terms: the Bosnian army turned homewards, and Scodra Pasha, abandoned by his allies, was captured and imprisoned.

Husain Kapitan established himself as Vazir at Travnik, surrounding himself with great state, and proudly styling himself "the Dragon of Bosnia" and "the champion of Bosnia:" but no firmaun came from the Porte to confirm his appointment, nor was any imperial rescript published abrogating the reforms; so the Bosniaks soon began to feel uneasy.

Meanwhile, the Grand Vazir was busily intriguing with the other Kapitans, stirring up their jealousy of Husain, and amusing some of them with the idea of their being appointed Vazir of Bosnia in his stead, and he succeeded in re-opening many of the old feuds, so that the nobles were soon again all together by the ears, and a strong party was formed among them hostile to Husain.

The Porte now threw off the mask, issued a firmaun declaring Husain Kapitan a rebel and appointed a new Vazir of Bosnia, one Kara Mahmoud Pasha, who at once marched upon Serajevo with thirty thousand men, of whom half were disciplined troops (Nizam.)

Husain Kapitan could only muster twenty thousand to meet him. He resorted to the desperate expedient of arming the Rayahs, but they displayed no enthusiasm in his cause: for they secretly hoped for the victory of the Sultan over their petty tyrants.

Milosh, the Christian Prince of Servia, offered to intercede for Husain with the Sultan.

Husain answered him proudly: "I will have nothing to do with a Sultan with whom thou caust intercede for me: I am ready to meet thee always and anywhere: my sword had smitten before thine was forged."

Two battles were fought before Serajevo: but though Husain Kapitan and his companions fought with desperate gallantry (Ali Beg Vidayitch had eight horses killed under him in one day), their rash valour was vain against the rolling musketry and stubborn bayonets of the Pasha's Nizam soldiery, and both engagements resulted in the rout of the Bosniaks. Husain and his principal adherents fled into Austrian territory: the rest of the Kapitans and Begs hastened to send in their submission: the revolt was entirely quelled. Kara Mahmoud Pasha took up his residence in Serajevo, where he built extensive barracks for his Nizam soldiers. The castles of the Kapitans were dismantled: many of them were executed, others imprisoned and exiled. Those who remained were deprived of all their powers. A new civil

administration was introduced into the country, and its condition was assimilated to that of the other provinces of the empire. The aristocratic republic which had so long existed in Bosnia, alongside of the Sultan's Government, was finally broken up. But the old aristocratic influences were still strong, and many of the Kapitans and Begs were gradually appointed Government officials under the new regime in their old districts; Husain Kapitan and his brother exiles were after a time permitted to return from Austria on condition of their lives being spared, and they were banished to distant parts of the Turkish empire.

Panslavism made its first overt appearance in Bosnia in 1848. In that year of revolutions, the European ferment spread even into Turkey. The Slaves of Bosnia were violently excited by the spectacle of the conflict waged against the Magyars by their brother Slaves across the border under the banners of Austria.

The Musalmans hoped to restore the old state of things and to get rid of the reforms which prevented them from fattening upon the labour of the Christians as of old; the Christians thought they saw a chance of throwing off the Turkish yoke altogether: the Begs hankered after their old independence. All the Bosnians of Slavonian race, with the most widely different aspirations, and with opposing aims, united in the one immediate object of ridding Bosnia of the Turkish yoke and severing it from the Ottoman empire. There was a general rising in the country; the rebels electing as leader a Bosniak Slav, called Ali Kieditch: and they gained some successes over the Turkish troops. The Porte, alarmed, appeared to yield to the movement, desired to know the grievances of the Slavs and summoned a meeting of the principal notables, Musalman and Christian, of Bosnia and Herzegovina at Travnik. This assembly called itself the Slav diet of Travnik, but it soon became apparent that its members, instead of laying a statement of their grievances before the Sultan, could not agree among themselves as to what those grievances were; the Christians and Musalmans wrangled hopelessly with each other on every point, and the Porte (whose councils were still directed by the Grand Vazir, Rashid Pasha, who had subdued Husain Kapitan's revolt in 1832) skilfully played off one against the other; and when things were quieter and the Hungarian troubles had been terminated, the Sultan issued a firmaun dissolving the assembly at Travnik, and sent an army under the celebrated Omar Pasha into Bosnia. Omar was himself a Slav, a Croatian Christian by birth, who

had deserted from the Austrian service and apostatised to obtain a commission in the Turkish army. He was the best officer in the Sultan's service, and distinguished himself at the head of the Turkish army during the Crimean war. He enjoyed the confidence of the Christian population of the empire to a great degree; and he now pacified Bosnia as much by his policy as by his arms. The Christians deserted the insurgent cause, and the Musalmans were dispersed after a few engagements, but some of the Begs made a desperate defence in their fortified houses. Many of them were sent in chains to Constantinople. Omar Pasha introduced the conscription into Bosnia (the Musalman Slaves had up to this time persistently evaded it), and the Province thenceforth furnished fifty thousand of the best troops in the Turkish army. Omar was anxious to extend the conscription also to the Christian subject of the Sultan, an honour which they did not at all appreciate: and his efforts, like many others in the same direction, failed. The Porte has continually announced its intention of placing arms in the hands of its Christian subjects; but the intention has never been carried out, and the Austrian conscription is the first with which the Rayahs of Bosnia and the Herzegovina have been made acquainted. They do not at all relish the notion of enforced absence from their homes in an Austrian barrack under the control of German foreigners; and Panslavist agitators have seized the occasion for an appeal to their national sentiment.

The Musalman Slaves are still more averse to the conscription than their Christian compatriots. Our readers will remember the desperate resistance which they made to the Austrian troops in 1879, when the Treaty of Berlin, designed by Lord Beaconsfield in the interest of Turkey, was cemented with the blood of the bravest champions of Islam. And the feelings of the people towards their Austrian rulers are unchanged. The Bosniak of to-day looks upon service under the Austrian colors with as much horror as his Janissary forefathers did upon wearing a uniform jacket. He put on an oriental nature when he assumed the faith of the Crescent and the Turkish garb, and the Musalman Slave at the present day is much more of an oriental than a European.

The pipe-clay backboard drill of the Austrian seems to him an inexpressible affliction. He fears the contamination of the unclean thing in Christian quarters.

But the Austrian military authorities have made arrangements by which the Musalman levies will be rationed and accounted in a fashion that will not hurt their religious susceptibilities. The French find no difficulty in these matters with their

Musalman regiments raised in Algiers. But Austria will hardly strengthen her military position by gathering unwilling recruits under her banner and training as soldiers men who are her instinctive and implacable enemies. The experience of the behaviour of her Italian regiments in the campaigns against the French and Prussians should not encourage her to place much reliance on Slavonian auxiliaries in a possible contest with Russia.

It is difficult to foretell what future is in store for the Musalman Slavs of Bosnia. Recent travellers have stated that, even under the Turkish dominion, they were far behind their Christian neighbours in material prosperity and in the qualities which conduce to it. The reforms in Turkey prevented their living on the Rayahs, and they were unable or unwilling to work for themselves: they are now miserable, living among others only as equals where they once were masters, and beholding their former drudges surpassing them in wealth and station. The spectacle of a Musalman population living amongst and on an equality with a Christian nation has not yet been witnessed in Europe. The Turks had once populous colonies in the towns and villages of Hungary, Servia, Roumania and Greece. But they have entirely disappeared with the Ottoman dominion: there is hardly one Musalman now to be found in any of those countries: still the settlers there were mostly Asiatics, and not sons of the soil; they had no sympathy with the nation among whom they lived, and they spoke a different language. The Musalman of Bosnia is the son of the soil: he can hardly be got rid of on the "bag-and-baggage" principle. It remains to be seen whether he will gradually follow the receding track of the Crescent and disappear from his native land, or whether he will remain and strive to adopt his old faith and antiquated customs to the demands of a new civilization.

F. H. TYRRELL.

ART. III.—INDIAN ART.

TWICE in the history of architecture and painting, and once in that of sculpture, we read of a golden era of art.

In the glorious, but all too brief "age of Pericles," into which seemed compressed the whole matchless force of Greek intellectual and artistic vigour, we must suppose that all three members of the lovely triad found their highest development. No specimens from the brush of Xeuxis, Parhasius, or Apelles, or of their predecessors, Polygnotis, and Apolydorus, have come down to us; but as every department of intellectual work in that incomparable period showed results which have been the wonder and despair of the world ever since, we are fain to believe that the painter's art was no exception to the rule. Sculpture (if we except Michael Angelo and the moderns) never flourished again, otherwise than as an integral portion of the building art; but architecture and painting each had a mediæval development, which will almost bear comparison with the best productions of Hellenic genius.

Let us now turn to India, and see if we can find any art-periods which can be classed along with the two European epochs. Reviewing the artistic history of the peninsula as a whole, we do find two such periods, which, under certain reservations, fit in, most singularly, with those of the West.

It will be premised, of course, that India has nothing to do with painting. A recognition of the demands of this highest development of creative art, will prevent the attempt to look for it in any country in Asia. India, again, has not so much to do with architecture or sculpture separately, as with that peculiar cultivation of the two arts, side by side, of which Rheims Cathedral may perhaps be cited as the most conspicuous modern, or rather mediæval, example; the Parthenon, it may be added, being the corresponding specimen in the antique. We do not, of course, attempt to advance the proposition, that the art-student may find as much gratification in the sculptured temples of India as in those of Europe. But we do affirm, without much fear of contradiction, that Eastern Art cannot be properly appreciated, unless studied by the light of that standard artistic development, which began in Greece, and ended in Belgium. We shall find, as may be expected, as many if not more differences, than points of contact. But this will not detract from the value of the comparison, if we bear in mind the dissimilarity of the conditions. We proceed to

consider the peculiarities of each art-epoch in the two countries a little more in detail.

The first, or archaic period in India, corresponds, not so much with the age of Pericles, as with that subsequent, or Romano-Greek phase of art, the centre of which was Rome, and not Athens, and the productions of which are too often confounded by pseudo-critics with genuine classic work. We refer, of course, to the period immediately succeeding the absorption of Greece into the empire, when Greek artists, under Roman masters, produced such works as the Laocoon, the Apollo, and the Medicean Venus. The reason why India cannot show anything corresponding to the golden age of art in Greece, or to that still more ancient growth in Egypt from which so many of the Hellenic art forms were certainly borrowed, is not far to seek. Her shores were never visited by that extraordinary people who seem to form the necessary link for the fusion of the Aryan and Turanian races into one great progressive whole. Had the conquerors of Hindustan met with a Celtic element in their newly-adopted home, the palmy days of Aryan supremacy might have boasted of a contribution to the world's store-house of masterpieces. But the only result of contact with the Turanian aborigines, was the degeneration of the Aryans, and it was not until the conquests of Alexander brought about an influx of Hellenic vitality, that a possibility of production arose. It follows that ancient art in India can scarcely be considered indigenous in the strict sense of the word. It was different in the South of the peninsula. Here a Turanian aboriginal population was civilised by a conquering race which was also Turanian—ethnographers will please note that we merely use the word for want of a better. A true indigenous art arose, which is utterly distinct from that of Northern India. It sometimes happens that we meet with art-forms in the South, the origin of which is to be found on the other side of the Nerbudda. But the reason of this is that the seat of the ruling power, until quite late in the annals of the country, was in the North, and the natural set of the current of civilisation was therefore Southwards. The date of this Southern art-development, it must be remembered, is much later than that of the period we are considering, and belongs rather to the middle ages than to antiquity. It will, perhaps, be best to view it as holding a sort of intermediate position. We cannot, then, claim for the archaic period of art in India, that it is contemporaneous with that which produced the classic masterpieces, or that it was free from extraneous influences. On the contrary, it is later in time than its Grecian prototype, and corresponds to the decline of art in Greece, if

any comparison is possible, Nay, more, the workmen of Hindustan owed nearly everything to Hellenic sources, and the one art may almost be considered as an offshoot of the other.

Fatal to the independence of Greece in Europe, the exploits of the Macedonian conqueror had the effect of making Greek influence felt in the remotest corners of the earth. Surrounded by the numerous petty sovereignties carved out of Alexander's dominions at his death, the great Hindu princes of the Magadha empire welcomed the new ideas which poured into India from beyond the mountains. The age of Asoka does not correspond with that of Pericles either in date or productions; but even the most passionate admirer of the classics may spare some portion of his enthusiasm, for a speculation on the art-treasures which, perhaps, adorned the capital, long ago sunk beneath the Ganges' waves, where reigned a foeman worthy of the steel of the hero of Arbela. The building work begun by the "Constantine of Buddhism" was carried on by the Indo-Scythian monarch Kanishka, who almost deserves the epithet which has been bestowed on his predecessor, and flourished under the auspices of the great kings of the Gupta dynasty. The period, considered as a whole, lasts far into the Christian era. It comprises the three divisions of early Indian art denominated by General Cunningham Indo-Grecian, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Sassanian, but which have so much general resemblance, as to justify our classing them together. To this epoch may be referred the finest remains at Mathura, Sanchi, Gya, the Yusufzai district, and numerous other places, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist. We do not imagine that the art-student will find in these an ideal beauty like that which breathes from the marble of Phidias, or of Alcamenes, but we do think he will find much to admire in the vitality and luxuriance of the sculptured details. But whatever differences of opinion may exist as to their artistic value, there cannot be a doubt that these monuments, properly understood, throw a flood of light upon a most interesting page of history.

To gather up the threads of what has gone before—if our premises are correct, we seem to have arrived at the following conclusions:—

First, the ancient art of India begins with the decline of the Hellenic genius, and is, as it were, an offshoot from it. *Secondly*, this epoch, therefore, is not one of true indigenous art, but in the specimens referrible to it, we shall trace Greek, and later on, Persian (Sassanian) art-forms. *Thirdly*, the ornamental details and the sculpture have a distinct æsthetic as well as a historical value.

Fourthly. The ancient art of the Deccan, though referrible to a later period, is distinctly indigenous.

The above naturally leads us to the consideration of the time intervening between the ancient and the modern, before passing on to the subject of mediæval art. We have stated above, that the Dravidian architecture (in which term we include all the non-Aryan styles of Southern India) occupies a position intermediate between the old and new. But the bulk of the specimens belong most properly to the later period. The general gap in production caused by the "Dark Ages" in Europe, was not without a counterpart in India. This is the recognised date of the terrible internecine struggle, between the two rival religions of Hindostan, which ended in the expulsion of Buddhism from the peninsula; a curious sequel to the story told us by the Chinese traveller, of a great toleration feast at Allahabad! When light again dawns after the long night of anarchy, we find ourselves entering upon an era, which is perhaps the truest modern type of a golden age of art. Nor is the disparity between East and West so great as in the former epoch. The golden age of the building art is undoubtedly to be found in the middle ages, all the world over. Something in the spirit of the time seems to have been peculiarly favorable to the development of architecture. Some of the grandest specimens of the art, are certainly those which date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. India presents no exception to the general rule. If the art which took its rise from Greek sources in ancient times is not an indigenous one, this cannot be said of the architectural styles which we must now briefly consider. While the gorgeous temples of Gothic art were gradually rising in the North of Europe, the Mahomedans of the first Empire were producing some of their grandest buildings. At the same time the Hindus, pressed back into Central and Southern India by the victorious Moslem, were concentrating all their force in the portions of the peninsula which remained to them. Nearly every powerful kingdom was ruled over by one or more "building dynasties," who adorned their cities with magnificent faues, which have to some extent survived the iconoclastic tendencies of the followers of the Prophet. That the artistic productions of this era in India, are of real worth, no one will venture to deny. No matter what the style, Jain, Brahmanical, or Saracenic, we find genuine beauty of form and excellence of design. What is most remarkable is the way in which men of all creeds and varying nationalities joined together in the work.

It did not check the chisel of the Hindu artificer to reflect that he was erecting a place of worship for a rival religion, whose very name was abhorrent to him. Compare, as an illustration of what is meant, the effect produced by such buildings as, say, the exquisite mosque at Fatehpur-Sikri, and a Hindu temple of Central

India. The religious character of either building is quite obscured by the æsthetic value of the work. Both bear what may almost be called the artistic trade-mark of the period. To this fusion of races and creeds must be attributed a large portion of that grandeur and solidarity which so emphatically distinguish the Moslem styles of India from the architecture of other parts of the world where the arms of the Crescent penetrated. We refer most particularly to the later Pathan, and early Mogul work, for a decline sets in after the reign of Akbar. The deterioration is not very marked till the reign of Shahjehan is over, but it had begun almost before the remains of his illustrious grandfather had found their last resting place. This, truly "great" Mogul, the only one of his race who justly merits the title, has left the imperishable impress of his individuality on everything which he attempted; of him, if of any, it may be said with truth *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*. During a long life of ceaseless activity at the head of his armies, while realising the unfulfilled dreams of his unfortunate father, he yet found time to adorn his favorite cities with magnificent works of art. What he might have done in this line, had he enjoyed the leisure which fell to the lot of his successors, can only be left to conjecture. But the difference in character between the monarchs may be shown by this one trait, that while Jehangir and Shahjehan sent their sons to fight their battles, Akbar made over to his the civil administration, and almost invariably took the field in person. But notwithstanding these disadvantages, we have numerous specimens of incalculable value, of this culminating period of Indian Saracenic art, and, had it not been for British philistinism—too long unchecked in its fell career,—we might have obtained more. Nearly everything is of the best. The excellences of every style which had preceded seem blended together. Indeed, this eclecticism is the most prominent of the characteristics of the work of this reign. Some confusion is introduced into the subject by the peculiar circumstances under which these works were produced. Shortly before the reign of Akbar, the Pathan architecture reached its culminating point. But at the same time it departed to the South with the fall of the first Delhi empire, and there it breaks up into sub-divisions, according as it is practised at Bijapur, Ahmedabad, or the capitals of other Provinces which became independent after the catastrophe. That this architecture was also of an eclectic character, what has preceded may help to show. Indeed, its excellence seems to be due in large measure to a combination of qualities, the patient industry of the Hindu working out the lofty ideas of the conquering Musalman. The Pathan styles having

been banished from the neighbourhood of Delhi, it is natural that the architecture of Akbar's reign should be commonly described as Mogul. But it would be more correct to regard it as *sui generis*. Undoubtedly peculiarities which are most commonly regarded as Mogul are conspicuous by their absence. The word, indeed, sounds almost like a synonym for mannerism. The bulbous dome of the later Mogul, work is a bad mannerism, even if the wonderful glazed tiles be regarded as a good one. With the death of the ruler—great in name as well as nature,—who had introduced it, the vigour and originality of the Mogul style begins to die also. Persian and pseudo-Italian influences are perceptible even in the buildings of Jehangir's reign, and where a great national school of art exists, the blind adoption of foreign forms can only deteriorate. Great as is the beauty of some of the works of Shahjehan, there cannot be a doubt that the decline has set in most rapidly. In the mosaics and tracery there may be nothing to complain of; in fact the former method of ornamentation, at least, was hardly known in the reign of Akbar. But the excellence of any one detail will not atone for want of completeness in general effect. The unity, the individuality, the subordination of parts to the whole, have passed away for ever. The mannerisms which we have alluded to above, detract greatly from the artistic excellence of that most overrated building, the Tajmahal. There is much of beauty, and more of fascination in the "dream in marble" which overhangs the Jumna stream, but it is the beauty of decay, and seems to speak to us of the impending doom of the Mogul empire. The favorite place of worship of the founder of Mogul greatness at Fatehpur-Sikri, however, is indeed a poem in stone, and we cannot believe that the world-wide reputation of the one building, is justly denied to the other. With the death of Shahjehan, the history of Indian architecture closes of itself. With the end of the middle ages, it may be broadly stated that the building art ceases to exist all over the world. It seemed as if the puny modern intellect, unlike that of the giants of old days, was unequal to the cultivation of more than one art at a time; and with the rise of painting we witness the decadence of the sister arts. The brush expelled the chisel. Even the mighty Angelo himself, who seems as one born out of due time, was unable to impress any vitality into the Renaissance styles. A revival of sculpture, of course, begins with Canova, but architecture perished irretrievably. In India the sceptre was passing into the hands of the Philistine Marhattas, and the still more Philistine English. This alone would account for the cessation of production. If anyone doubts the fallacy

of an observation which has lately been made "that architecture is still a living art in India," we would only ask him to travel a little in the interior with his eyes open. He will find whole architectural provinces (if the term may be applied where the art does not exist) in which every rule of work, and every sense of the fitness of things has been lost sight of. He will see Hindu temples built in a debased style of Mahomedan architecture, the debasements being so great, that a further depth cannot be imagined. Or, where the proper Indo-Aryan forms have been adhered to, the superstructure will be found loaded with hideous ornamentation, in lieu of the chaste simplicity of the ancient types. If there really be, however, a future before the building art, it may have a re-habilitation in India, as well as elsewhere. The only way to make it possible is to encourage spontaneous growth, and shut out all extraneous influences. Even now, debased as is the condition into which architecture has fallen, a beautiful building occasionally rises up in a rural district where the foreign influence is away.

In conclusion, we hope to have shewn that the mediæval art of India, at least, is worthy of critical study. The subject has hitherto been unfortunate in not securing more advocates. Until the historian of architecture turned his attention to India, nothing had been done to preserve to posterity a knowledge of the contributions of the East to artistic production. There has been no lack of workers in the Archæological Department, and the monuments of India have been regarded as curiosities for the sight-seer from time immemorial, but æsthetic criticism has been rare. Now that the winter season attracts annual batches of tourists to Indian shores, we may hope that the neglect under which the art-treasures of the country have so long remained will soon be a thing of the past, and that with a critical discussion of merits and demerits, we may soon obtain a better standpoint for judging correctly the value of Indian art.

ART. IV.—THE FOUNDATIONS OF ARYAN LAW.

WHATEVER may be the decision of the reader upon the passing questions of Indian Judicature, it cannot be doubted that the constitution and maintenance of machinery for the administration of justice, whether between man and man, or between the citizen and the whole community of which he is a member, has always been a paramount subject of consideration in all Aryan societies. The comparative study of these institutions, therefore, should be a matter dear to us all, whether or no we may happen to be directly connected with the great Eastern Empire.

Foremost among those by whom this study has been advanced, Sir Henry Sumner Maine must always occupy our attention. The remarks that follow are chiefly suggested by a study of his latest publication on the subject; * which, though somewhat fragmentary in form, contains the author's matured views on the subject that has so long occupied his thoughts, and embodies also certain modifications, or rather perhaps elaborations, due to the reasonings of others who have written on kindred topics since the appearance of Sir Henry's first work on *Ancient Law*.

The so-called "Code of Manu," first presented to the Western world by Sir William Jones, towards the end of the last century, as analogous to the Institutes of Justinian, was supposed by the accomplished Judge to have been the work of a certain demi-god who presided over the destinies of India nearly thirteen hundred years before Christ: contemporaneous, let us say, with Moses. It is now considered to be more of the nature of an unauthentic breviary, of whose date Dr. Weber can only surmise that it is earlier than the second century A. D., and not earlier than the first. † This poetical mediæval resumé of rule and ritual, therefore, is not the true source of our knowledge of the earlier Aryan institutions in India. That has to be sought rather in the Vedas and in ancient text-books, the oldest of which is perhaps the work that goes by the name of *Apastamba*: the lacunæ in the Vedas being supplied by text-books originating in the various spiritual families, or (as catholics might call them) "religious orders." The favourite expedient of these teachers, when failing to supply a basis for doctrine or practice in Scripture, was to suppose the loss of the necessary text.

On the absolute origin of law these ancient writers throw but little light. This is probably due to the idea constantly recurring

* *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*. London. 1833.

† Other modern scholars are inclined to assign a still later date.

in their books, that law was a kind of cosmic necessity, arising out of the will of God and the constitution of the universe. Hence it was concluded that every Jurisconsult must be a Divine; and, when this, combined with the circumstance that—as in the dark ages of Europe,—Divines only possessed what was known as “clergy” (the arts of reading and writing), it was natural that a view existed quite differing from that which is taken in modern Europe. Instead of law being regarded as an enactment emanating from sovereign secular authority and enforced by the secular arm, these antique Aryan communities thought (as did the early Hebrews) that law was a set of precepts issuing from the heavenly chancery, and obligatory on all who had the fear of heaven before their eyes. The penalties, apart from the unseen jurisdiction of the other world, were religious and social. The oppressor, the robber, ranked with the scorner and the blasphemer, and were put to the ban of public opinion and excluded from social intercourse. We are reminded of de Quincey’s pleasantry; how one, who lightly yielded to murderous impulse, might end in swearing and Sabbath breaking.

Civilisation has proceeded but slowly in the East, and has been subject to many interruptions and steps to the rear. On the whole, however, whether under the short smiles of prosperity or the long storms of war and anarchy, the Aryans of India have made some advance in the direction of disentanglement in which—since the early days of Rome—Europe has been taking such continued strides.

The specialised codes by which the evolution of modern Hindu life has been actually conducted are those which guide the foreigners who now administer the greater part of the Indian peninsula. Practically, they are but two. In Upper India—subject to local and tribal customs in which Sir Henry Maine believes that the oldest ideas are sometimes traceable—the ruling law-book is the *Mitākshara*; and this is also the case in the South where, however, (as may once for all be noted) Hindu institutions are not native and have never possessed the Levitical sanctity which has been attributed to them elsewhere. The *Mitākshara* originated, according to the most recent approximation, at the end of the eleventh century of our era, just about the time of the first Muslim invasions. It rests upon evidence unusually good for Hindu history that the Chálukia monarch, Vikrama, at whose court the digest professes to have been compiled, was the son of a warlike chief whose capital was at Kaliáua in the Deccan, about one hundred miles W. of the modern capital of the Nizam. Ancient coins and inscriptions show that Vikrama became king about 1076 A. D. Thus the legal system by which about three quarters of

the Hindu race are, still governed, is the product of the very end of the independent Hindu period. Far more, therefore, in every respect, than Manu, its chief text-book corresponds to the Institutes of the Byzantine Emperor. It is an excellent work of its kind ; though its kind, according to modern ideas, is not so good. It contemplates ideas on such subjects as the family and the tribe, in which old religious thought still plays a great part ; the *patria potestas*, the sacrifices to the *manes*, and the separation of tribes, are there, as they must have been in the pre-decemviral times of Rome. And it is here that we must seek for the most interesting exhibitions of fundamental Aryan law in active operation and reposing on the sanction of a stable and honest administration. The picture is quite unprecedented, and well deserves attention. A more healthy ideal can scarcely be conceived than what is actually realized in British India. Laws still believed to be of Divine authority and to be concerned with spiritual as well as with temporal welfare, are applied (and tempered to modern necessities) by upright and well-educated Judges, whose decrees are enforced by a highly-organised and respected secular power. Doubtless, there are defects in practice, to some of which reference may be presently permitted. But it is not among defects that we should class the occasional straining of Hindu law to bring it into accordance with the altered wants of to-day. Such a book as Mr. J. D. Mayne's valuable work on Hindu Law, contains cases in which this has been done ; but it has always been done on fixed principles ; it has been acquiesced in by the people, and each ruling has taken its place as a part of Hindu law rather than as a violation.

The English judges, however, have not been the only persons by whom change has been made. A far more drastic reform than any on which they could venture, has been carried out in a large and prosperous part of the country. About the year 1325 A. D. a disciple of the Mitákshara school had set up an innovating doctrine in Tirhut which gradually spread into some of the adjoining districts. Orthodoxy taking alarm, a doctor named Jimata Váhana undertook to write a treatise, in which he was borne by circumstances into a position of greater innovation than that which he undertook to rebuke and correct. It was a time of darkness, in which Hindu thought and practice was being greatly oppressed by the persecuting Muslims. The writer was a man of genius who, in attempting to show what Hindu Law was, got into the way of showing what it should be. The result was the *Dáyabhāga*, an amended law-book which has ever since prevailed in the provinces now collected under the Lieutenantcy of Bengal. What the new lawgiver assumed

and perhaps in good faith believed that he ~~was~~ doing, was this. The teaching of the Mitākshara Pandits had become corrupt; he had therefore to point out what was the true spirit of texts of which the interpretation had been erroneous, or had grown obsolete and unsuited to his part of the country. He is justified for this by a recent native jurist. "The other teachers," argues Professor Sarvadhikāri, "cite precedents and authorities in support of their views: but Jimata Vāhana appeals to reason." It does not much signify; in any case he was a reformer, doubly happy in coming into a place and a time that were ready for the display of his wisdom. It is highly to his credit that he did what he did; and it is quite possible that any new reformers of Hindu Law will borrow more and more from the *Dāyabhāga* in time to come. It is true that it would scarcely be prudent or practicable for a foreign legislature to introduce it crudely into Mitākshara land, or even for foreign Courts to borrow from its principles while professing to administer Mitākshara. But the fact remains that, in regard to every subject as to which there is a conflict between the two schools, the liberal and progressive doctrine is always that favoured by the *Dāyabhāga*. And this fact will not be ignored whenever the reform of Hindu law is undertaken by a competent authority. It is more human, if less divine, and marks a distinct social development with which its rival has failed to keep step.

Sir H. Maine has two chapters on Ancestor-worship, and on the principles of succession that have arisen out of that ancient Aryan usage. These doctrines have formed part of a view of life which, though primitive, is by no means without scientific spirit. No man stands alone: his forefathers live in him, as he in turn will live in his descendants. We shall presently glance at some of the points on which the Semitic races, though equally starting with a belief in the Divine origin of law, have diverged from the path common to the Aryans of all times and places. This is one of those points, and it has had serious consequences. The respect for the dead Fathers, wherever it originated, accompanied all branches of the Aryan migration, whether in Europe or in Asia. The Romans had their *gens*, which, like the Vedic *janas*, indicated a belief in the common origin of a group of families from one remote ancestor. Each *gens* was kept together by its *sacra*. The great gods, the Gods of the Nations, "lived far away on their own Olympus; the real effective worship was to the Lares and Penates. Their images stood * * * and in the innermost recesses of the house, and represented forefathers who, &c., &c." [Maine, Chap. III.] These were the family sacrifices, no doubt reproduced, with due changes,

in the *sacra* of the *gens*. To this day, amongst our prosais selves, a shred or two of this feeling survives, though no longer connected with a legal obligation: as Professor Sarvadhikári remarks, with the English "the point of development at which law breaks away from religion has been passed." The Patricians—who must have been descended from the original founders—of Rome, long preserved their tribal Mysteries; and their special *Comitia* (Vedic *Samiti*) after it had lost political authority, long continued to discharge a sacramental function for the original tribes. The very name of the collective body, *patres*, implied that they consisted of the old householders in the persons of their representatives; and the perpetuity of fatherhood thus indicated was long maintained. In ancient Greece the performance of funeral rites in honour of a deceased kinsman was necessary before he could enter into the rest of the Elysian fields. The Persians had similar ideas: the duty, however, among them was discharged in a peculiar manner, namely, by exposing the bodies "where there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds" (*Zend-Avesta* as quoted by Maine, p. 65, *note*.) This practice, so foreign to Greek and Roman usage—is still observed by the Parsis: as may be seen by anyone, who passes through Bombay. In the later Roman law, the indirect influence of these archaic prepossessions is still visible; and Maine declares that the worship of the *Munes* still affects our own law, not only as to churchyards but as to inheritance also (*ub. sup.*, p. 66.)

It must not be inferred from all this that any of these archaic systems contemplated the intricate ceremonial of modern Hinduism, or the equally complicated law of succession which is connected therewith. "A childlike simplicity," says Prof. Sarvadhikári, "pervades, in the earlier books of *Rigveda*, the spirit of the hymns to ancestors; and we cannot believe but that the inspired sages of ancient India, never dreamed of the elaborate systems of ancestor-worship invented in modern times by the followers of the Brahmanic faith." The spirit of the Vedas was not so much to inculcate anything like the modern *Srâddhas*, as to establish for each family a kind of All Soul's Day in which the progenitors were summoned by the offering of simple forms of food, and were supposed to hallow the feast by an unseen presence. Out of this, in the lapse of years, the cupidity and ingenuity of priestly lawyers elaborated the *Srâddh*, a word which is held to indicate a denominational origin, and which has extended beyond the mere agnatic connection. Traces of sacerdotalism are to be found in the rules excluding atheists and also sons who availed themselves of the practice, lawful but heterodox,

of partitioning the estate during the father's life-time and against his will. This curious rule is remarkable, as showing not only the connection between ritual and civil law, but the efforts made by the laity for their disentanglement.

In the early middle ages of Hinduism this class of duty was not only confined to the orthodox, but among them to *agnates* or descendants in the male line. For reasoning on this point, see Maine, pp. 72.-75. f. where it is shown that in the Panjab (where Aryan institutions exist in their purest and least sophisticated forms) "the constitutions of the Family is entirely 'agnatic;' kinship is counted through male descendants only." The etymology of the word *Sapinda* is hotly contested among the modern Pandits, it being a moot point whether it properly means those belonging to the same *body*, or those entitled to communicate by means of the same *cake*. But, whatever be the derivation, the signification is not disputed. The word *Sapinda* was originally used only for those who were the offspring of male descendants of a common *pater familias*, that is to say, in Roman phrase, *agnati*. But there came in time to be *Sapindas ex parte materna*, though a trace of the old doctrine remained in their inferior consideration. This change appears to have been introduced after the date of Manu—whenever that may have been.

Our Hindu lawyer does not go so far back into archaic studies as Sir H. Maine.* He begins with the supposed origin of Aryan society, however, and assumes (what is probably true) that in the rudimental system, the power of a father was absolute over his family. At the time when Roman law first becomes known to us, we find that the energy of the Western Aryans (the colonisers of the race) had already mitigated the worst features of this domestic despotism. But among the more stationary Hindus its decline was slow. Post-Vedic legends show instances of fathers selling their sons, even with the knowledge that the sale was made for the ghostly purpose of human sacrifice. Manu says of property, that a son has no legal superiority to a wife or a slave, the acquisitions of all three belonging to "the man to whom *they* belong." Still later authority lays down that a son is "dependent even though he be grown old." Wherever the lawyers have not succeeded in modifying it, some amount of the *patria potestas* still prevails in Hindu society. And hence has arisen the Hindu institution of "the joint undivided family;" though the corporation (under Brahminical influence, no doubt) has passed from an aggregate of passive slaves to a sort of firm managed by the father for the common benefit.

* *Early Law and Custom.* Chap. VII, *passim*.

It was in this condition that Roman society found itself when the disputes arose—whatever they may have been—which led to the attempt at codification of the customary law of the Latin race known as the “Twelve Tables,” about 454 B. C. So far as the contents of this document are known, they reveal a considerable similarity with early Hindu notions: but those notions were probably modified considerably; and a precedent arose for further modification, *pro re natâ*, so as to keep the laws fitted to the expanding proportions and needs of a growing society. It is this first taking law out of the sphere of religion, and frankly acknowledging its dependence on human development, that marks the true difference between East and West, or rather between a stationary society, with a tendency towards decay and dissolution, and an active society with an evolutionary future before it.

The Hindus—though not to the same extent as the Moslems—have hitherto fallen short of the full realisation of this condition of social organisation. We are not here concerned with Muhamadan law; and it will be enough to notice, in passing, that it lies under disabilities more heavy and difficult than those which beset the Hindus. The followers of the Prophet have allowed themselves to be taught that law is not only of Divine origin, but is complete and unchangeable. Whether, therefore, in their old republican form, under the dictatorship of a *Khalifa* (Caliph), or under the more usual aspect of a democracy ruled by a hereditary despot, or Sultan, who is considered, “The Shadow of Allah,” the law can never be reformed. Society, thus compressed, can hardly expand or progress. In Aryan societies—whether self-ruled or under the negligent rule of Islam—it is not quite so. Either directly by *plebiscitum*, or statute, or else by way of interpretation and legal fiction, developments of law take place from time to time. The *Twelve Tables* are an illustration of this process in early European law, the *Dayabhāga* shows that something of the sort is possible in Asia, though it took much longer to come about; the rights of individuals gradually obtained some power of assertion; “communism,” says our Hindu Professor, “had to make some compromise.”

Out of such a compromise arose the *Srāddh*, which thus becomes a turning point in Hindu social history. In Post-Vedic time—perhaps somewhere about the Christian era, five or six hundred years later than the corresponding Roman movement—modern Hindu social law began to dawn. “The dignity of the individual was maintained, and his grievances were removed without injury to the corporate existence of the family. “The father would live after he was dead, and receive that share of his children’s joyful regard which his solitary

greatness had forbidden him when above ground and presiding over the affairs of the corporation. The *Srāddh* became the reconciliation of paternal power with human weakness, and "the very corner-stone, as it were, of the Hindu law of inheritance."

Sir H. Maine observes that, for his part, he cannot compare the *Dayabhāga* (and similar modern treatises) with the older Hindu law books without being led to the conclusion that a change has taken place, not unlike what occurred in Rome, when the Agnatic system of the Twelve Tables gave way to the Cognatic succession of the Pretorian Edict. The two laws were alike originated by ancestor worship, and the feeling that he who took the estate ought to cherish the Manes, and *vice versa*. But both were modified, under the presence of social exigencies, into a system of inheritance that allowed the succession of the descendants of females. "The newer Hindu law, however, carries with it the explanation of its origin; the religious element in it has been transmuted, and the law with it. "He, therefore, suggests that the equity of the Romans began before legal history, in a modified ancestor-worship, and a change in the religious constitution and religious duties of the family. He is further of opinion that this capacity of daughters to transmit succession, which marked a stage in the progress of so many systems, was connected with the right, sometimes enjoyed by a widow, of adopting a son on behalf of her deceased husband, and even involved the germ of the ultimate admission of females themselves to a share in the inheritance. Moreover "the gift to a woman, or the provision for her on her marriage, cannot be separated from her right of succession. The ancient Hindu writers, in excluding the daughter from a share in the family succession, allow her right to a marriage portion out of the moveable, or "personal," estate. "In the ancient systems of the Western world also, there is a visible connection between inheritance and provision upon marriage. The Roman law has bequeathed to modern jurisprudence the doctrine that, under certain circumstances, a marriage portion is to be deemed an 'advance' of a legacy to a daughter; and, conversely, that a covenant to settle a portion is 'satisfied' by a legacy. "The Muhamadan law recognises the rights of daughters to fixed fractional shares in the paternal estate; and—probably for this reason, it is not the father who finds the dower for a bride but the husband. It is well known that the *dén mīhr*, or "dowry-debt" on account of marriage settlements, is a strong check upon the freedom of divorce theoretically provided in the Muslim law of marriage. "A society which has adopted this law of inheritance has come under a system of rules of succession which may

possibly embody some Arabian customs, but which can only be accounted for as consisting of strict deductions from the letter of texts assumed to be sacred."

Of course this is only one of many essential and wide distinctions. The Aryan view of marriage is that there should be one wife, united for life to a husband of her own race, though not of her own kin, associating with her husband on something like equal terms.* The Muslim, on the other hand, "is not only polygamous but endogamous; that is, his law permits comparatively near relatives to marry."

It is a remarkable illustration of the character of British rule in India—well meaning but unintelligent—that it was never perceived, during the earlier attacks upon the Hindu practice of female infanticide, that this practice was inextricably connected with what may be termed restricted exogamy. The reformers were contented to accept, from those Natives whom they consulted, the explanation that the usage was due to "the expenses of marriage." But they did not proceed to inquire what might be the reason why marriage was more expensive among tribes that killed their daughters than among other natives of India. So they went on calling meetings and taking agreements on stamped paper that marriage expenses should be curtailed. The Rajputs complied, in contemptuous wonder, with all suggestions, and—went on smothering their little girls, till penal measures were introduced of which we have yet to see the full results. It is now some twelve years since the new system was introduced. If it has been generally successful, there must, by this time, be a vast number of girls growing up in the Rajput villages and in those of lower tribes who have adopted the rite from imitation. The existence of these girls must needs be a scandal and a trouble, and may become a source of many crimes. For, by the customs of these tribes, daughters cannot marry in the clan: that would be incest. Their parents cannot afford bridegrooms of higher rank; bridegrooms of lower rank they do not affect. Had this been foreseen, the measures for the suppression of female infanticide would, no doubt, have taken a different character. The writer calls to mind (as illustrative of the present method) a case in which, as Sessions Judge, he tried a young woman committed because, she being an inhabitant of a "proclaimed" village, her female infant had died of inanition. The woman pleaded "not guilty" and was stoutly defended. It was proved that she had several female children in her family, daughters, nieces and cousins. It was shown that, at the time of the deceased infant's birth, the mother had fever and lost her milk. It was shown that efforts had been made, in a rude way, perhaps,

* See Creasy. *Hist. of Eng.* I, 183-4, for Teutonic equality of women.

but in all sincerity, to bring up the child by hand. The assessors interposed. The prisoner, they observed, though living in a proclaimed village, did not belong to the tribe for whose offences the village had come on the list. On the contrary, so observed, the Assessors (Hindus who knew the facts), the members of this woman's tribe practised marriage within the clan—"endogamy"—Why should she have killed her baby? The prisoner was, of course, acquitted; and crawled out of the Court, a free but ruined woman, broken in health, spirit, and reputation. Such are the occasional results of well-intentioned stupidity and ignorance in high places.

An imaginative mind may possibly trace survivals of these ideas in modern Western society. Rich parvenus still desire to obtain sons-in-law from the Peerage; and what is popularly called "Royalty," is a caste whose members are thought to derogate when they marry beyond the limits recognized by the *Almanac de Gotha*. But, if it were possible to connect such usages with the old Aryan combination of endogamy and exogamy, it would still be necessary to admit the enormous way that the modern Aryans of the West had made in departing from the prejudices of their ancestors.* The subject cannot be fully followed out here; enough has been shown to enable the reader to understand how an archaic conception of society can change when once we admit the principle of a sovereign power not only sanctioning common law but exercising an unlimited faculty of modifying it. Not that the law in India rests now upon any thing but the sovereign power by which it is permitted and enforced. But that power is shown, hitherto, more in enforcing the law than in alteration. And the eagerness of the people to have recourse to the tribunals of the alien Government is justly commented upon by Sir H. Maine in a passage to which further reference is made below.

It has been hinted above that these Courts, however appreciated by the people, are not always found sufficient for their wants. This is a most serious complaint. Nothing can justify the holding and ruling of a country by aliens unless it be the maintenance of peace, the protection of life and property, the enforcement of just claims. Now, it must be obvious that the last part at least of this requirement is not fulfilled so long as it is not practically possible for a poor but honest man—and of such is the bulk of the population—to obtain judicial award and execution. The theory of the British in India, in respect of civil-justice, is this. Under the High Court, or other Chief

* Marriage between patricians and plébeians was not lawful till the passing of the *Lex Canuleia*, soon after the fall of the Decemvirs (B. C. 445.)

judiciary of a province, there is a Judge for each District; each sub-division of the district being provided with local Courts whose president is generally known by the title of "Munsif." Some Munsifs have what is known as "Small Cause jurisdiction," the greater number have not. In any case, a peasant having a claim of four Rupees for the price of a cow, has to take troublesome and expensive steps to establish his claim, and will probably not recover his money then. Let us try to follow his course.

The *Munsif* to whose jurisdiction he is subject is situate in some market-town about ten miles, let us say, from the village. Hither, the plaintiff trudges, through sun or rain, consuming a day, and losing so much of his labour. On arrival he puts up at the caravanserai, where he has to pay for his room. Here he is beset by "fouts" from the Court, and by messengers eager for fees. All these shoals and rocks passed, his plaint is engrossed (more payment) and presented (on the following day if he is lucky) to the Munsif. A summons is then issued to the defendant, and a day fixed for the next hearing; more payments and home to wait for the result. On the day fixed a second journey—for several reasons personal attendance is the rule. If the defendant file a *cognovit*, or the case is clear otherwise (and these are suppositions of exceptional fortune), a decree is given in his favour with costs. But he cannot charge in his costs the loss of time, the "hotel-bill," the money spent in bribes. And now his trouble begins in real earnest; except when the Court has proceeded under the Small Cause Act, there is an appeal to a still more remote and expensive court. But supposing no appeal is taken, even so the labour and expense of getting the decree were nothing to what has to be gone through before it is executed. People might sympathise with a defrauded creditor, but no one sympathises with the *protégé* of the Courts going about to enforce judgment. If the reader has an opportunity, let him consult the annual returns of the High and Chief Courts and of the Judicial Commissioners, and see how large a proportion of decrees are only "part-executed," how many are not executed at all. Such a state of things as has been here sketched forms an undeniable blot in the judicial system of Britain in the East. Another was thrown out into lurid prominence by the flames of fifty-seven. As the French peasantry in the great anarchy of the Revolution went with peculiar zest into the work of burning the chateaux where the landlords had laid up documentary proof adverse to their claims, so did the Hindustani peasantry, in almost all the districts affected by the Mutiny, take advantage of the temporary lapse of authority to destroy all the offices in which they thought there might lurk documents likely to do them harm. That was, in fact, the reverse

of the medal. In ordinary times it is difficult to enforce just claims, in times of trouble persons against whom claims exist are anxious to destroy decrees and deeds by which such claims have been or may be enforced. In both cases the underlying principle is the same. Our system is elaborate, hard upon the poor, though favourable to the rich.

It is understood that an accomplished native Judge, who has served in a part of India not subject to British law, is disposed to bring this flaw into notice and to suggest a scheme for its removal. In the Nizam's territory, and, indeed, to some extent also in the British districts of the south, there appears to exist some machinery resembling the French *Juges de Paix*, whereby petty disputes can either be reconciled by compromise or adjusted by arbitration. It would be worthy of a Government anxious for reform to inquire into the matter and see what could be done to render justice, in small cases, more accessible and less expensive throughout the whole of British India.

Subject to this drawback and protest, the feeling of the country is favourable to the British judicial administration. "When a province hitherto especially ill-governed, says Maine, is annexed to British India, the first effect is neither satisfaction nor discontent; neither the peaceable continuance of old usages nor the sudden adoption of new, but an extraordinary influx of litigation into the British courts which are always at once established. * * * The proper conclusion to draw is that . . . Courts of Justice have an immense ascendancy over men's minds and a singular attraction for their tastes, when they are first presented, as a means of settling disputes which were either violently adjusted or [had] slumbered because they could only be settled at prodigious risk. Another phase is instructively illustrated in the more settled parts of British India. The commands of the government * * are more implicitly obeyed than the commands of any previously existing authority * * * At present (and for a long while to come it will probably be so) the fact of the existence of Courts of Justice regularly enforcing the law is constantly before the minds of the natives * * to a degree which we, in this country, can scarcely understand. In many parts of India youths learn the texts of the Penal and Procedure Codes in daily lessons * * With us * * no doubt, the force which arms the law is still there; but it lies in reserve in (so to speak) a compact and concentrated form which enables it to keep out of sight."

Different as has been the evolution of the societies, so has differed the result in each. The English have had their habits and ideas formed by centuries of the reign of law to which obedience has become an instinct. In India the people pay the law

an obedience which is conscious and partakes of the enthusiasm of children for new toys. But *obedience* is in both cases one of those common ideas of law which mark a common origin.

Yet, though the fundamental principles of law may have been identical in all parts of the Aryan world, an essential difference has been seen to be set up in all those portions into which the Romans introduced their matured system. These primitive societies were founded everywhere on the development of the same integral cell—the family corporation, whereof the father was President. This, indeed, must have been almost a common necessity of all branches of the human race that were to attain to anything like organic maturity. But the breed that was ultimately to take by far the foremost place in civilisation must have had this germ in its strongest shape and condition, and with the greatest amount of that power of combining for increase without which cells are apt to remain unfruitful and unorganised. It is indeed a fair presumption that even the family was not quite strong enough to constitute a permanent social basis, and that a good deal of further combination must have been needed before even the most rudimental kind of Aryan society could have been organised. As soon as monogamous Aryan families, however, had been grouped together, if it were but in a knot of wigwams, that rudimental framework was created, and something like law would at once arise if it was not to dissolve again.

That is, perhaps, the explanation of a fact that Sir H. Maine finds so constant; namely, the tendency of Aryan codes, even the most ancient, to begin with the constitution of the Courts of Justice, no less than of the great success which still attends British administration of justice in the India of to-day which has been already mentioned. The Romans and those nations that were most completely covered by the Roman system, so far surmounted the tendency here observed, that their later law books cease to treat of the constitution of Courts and the "frame of the suit" as the corner-stone and beginning of law. But the remoter peoples, the Irish and English in the West, and the Hindus on the East of the Aryan world, long continued this habit; indeed, some of our modern text-books still take these subjects in their initial chapters.

The earliest form of suit appears to have been one by which the complainant threw on his adversary the *onus* of action and proof by seizing his cattle; and the earliest Court was probably a small gathering of elderly neighbours before whom the owner of the cattle claimed redress, and where the decision of the cause was enforced by public opinion and the fear of social excommunication. To pronounce why in the West this has developed into trial by jury, while in the East it has dwindled into an

arbitration by *panchayat* which is decaying daily, would be too difficult a task to be undertaken with our present materials. In the Reeve and his four assessors may perhaps lurk a trace of the original love of the number five which still lingers in India. If so, we cannot easily account for the magic subsequently attached to the number twelve in the West. It is certainly not a purely Saxon institution, for the *Jurats* in the courts which the Channel Islanders have preserved from their ancient connection with France (and who though not jurors are judges) also consist of the same number. It is possible—unless it can be shown that the number (twelve) had been chosen before the Christian era—that some reverence for the twelve Apostles or the twelve Tribes of Israel may have suggested the adoption of the new panel. What is more remarkable is, that the system by which the facts are discovered by a number, greater or less, of householders while the official judge is only to control and adjust the sentence, was constantly gaining favour in the Western world, constantly losing it in the East. Whatever future may be in store for the jury system in Europe and the European Colonies, it is certain that in the past it has made great conquests. The germ is traced by historians to rude Teutonic times when a select number of neighbours were taken from the multitude present at tribal gatherings, to whom the decision of disputes, usually of a civil nature, was committed by the parties or by the elders before whom they had come for advice. In criminal charges the accused who desired to clear himself by compurgation, swore to his innocence and brought his neighbours to endorse his oath. In such rude embryo the system long continued. Even down to the time of Edward I., who did so much for our laws, trial by jury was in effect a trial by the witnesses, the jurors being called from the neighbourhood and required to render a verdict ("true saying") from their local knowledge (Creasy, *Hist. of Eng.* I. 468). *Magna Charta* had already declared that no freeman should be imprisoned but by the judgment of his peers "*vel per legem terræ*". A statute of Edward I. declared further, that trial by jury was "the common law of the land," the other ways being only two, ordeal and combat; both of which gradually fell into disuse and became extinct. Trial by jury thus became the one sole criminal law of England. What this young plant has grown to, no Englishman requires to be told. From the Coroner's Court to the High Court in its most exalted jurisdiction, all series of inquiries have a tendency to end in the eliciting of an oracle from "twelve men in a box"; indeed, it has been said that to place them there is the ultimate object of all the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men, of all the display

and all the latent force of the British Constitution. The humble Eastern sister of this sovereign deity is the *panchayat* of which so little is heard now-a-days, though more is heard than seen. There is an obsolete Hindi proverb "*Panch men Parmeshwar*" (which might almost be translated, "In Jury is God known.") But the *Deus ex machina* of ancient Hinduism is much in the condition of any other idol that lies neglected in a shed, or is only brought out on special and not very dignified occasions. In point of fact the *panch* has degenerated into a tribal council chiefly resorted to, when there is a question of ceremonial impunity, and a prospect of a fine or feast to be exacted from some lax observer of caste usage.

The same power that was favourable to the development of popular justice in one country has proved fatal to it in the other; the power of the organising Royal Government of England. In the middle ages, when the Musalman Sultan sat in *darbâr* carrying on a histrionic imitation of an *aula regis* which was reproduced with due respect by his delegates in the Provinces, there seems reason to believe that the real administration of justice was performed by the village elders. This certainly went on in the Turkish Empire, where the Greek and Slave *râyas* maintained their old popular tribunals, under the drapery of the Musalman throne; and it is almost certain that it went on in Hindustan also. But what the winds and storms of an oppressive rule were unable to blow away has melted off before the sunshine of the *Pax Britannica*. Though the laws may still be those of a primitive people, the machinery is now that of the latest development of civilisation. It may indeed be doubted whether it is not something rather too refined and elaborate; as of a brand new screw engine from Glasgow fitted into an Arab "snow." Too dear it certainly is: the revenue-head of "Law and Justice" for 1881 came to nearly three and a quarter millions.

One of Sir Henry's most interesting chapters is that in which he deals with the primitive Courts to which the Aryan kings soon found it necessary to delegate their judicial authority, Courts it may be added whose fusion with the old Teutonic inquests of neighbours has constituted the elaborated tribunals of Great Britain and the United States, as we see them to-day. This Chapter (V. of the present series) is one of those whose substance has already been familiar to readers of *The Fortnightly Review*, and it would be impossible to do it justice within our present limits. The author shrewdly conjectures that there were prehistoric (or as he says "natural") tribunals that were older than any Royal Courts. Then came

the feudal courts of the Barons which exercised great oppression. The King, however, in England at least, never neglected these Courts. The popular tribunals were nerved by royal support and patronage; the Barons' Courts were restrained by his omnipresent control. When these duties became too many and too onerous, the king maintained the use without retaining the vain shadow. The writs of the Courts at Westminster continued to run in the king's name, though the king ceased to practice a mummery of judging, like his Musalman contemporaries. Justices in Eyre replaced the royal progresses; the jury was associated with the judges; the "magical," the "practical" English mind worked out, in its dull but effectual way, the union of supreme power and popular will.

The last point on which our space will permit us to dwell is the law of property. Sir Henry notes (Chapter X.) certain distinctions which run through commodities, and which causes the objects lying on either side of the line to belong legally to different branches or provinces of legislation. Thus we have, in English law, the distinction between realty and personality; in Hindu law that between ancestral property and that which is acquired by individual members of the family; lastly, that between family estate and *stridhan*, the peculiar property of women.

But by far the most important feature of the law of property is presented by the case of land. In all countries where the feudal system prevailed, the ultimate ownership of land—unless held on allodial tenure—was as much vested in the Crown as it was in the East in the time of Strabo. This was the expression of a feeling common to all Aryan nations—and not confined to them—that the land on which a clan or tribe was settled was subject to the collective claims of the whole body, in the same way as that body was liable for its defence.

The "allod," according to our author, is the original Western form of individual appropriation of land; and he regards it as equivalent to, or directly representative of, the share or fraction of the divisible portion of the domain which came into the possession of any particular family. In the Indian village community we see the same state of things to this day, where the right to a portion of the common profits—*munafai-shamilat*—is proportionate to the extent of the separate holding. But the result has been very different in the two extremes of the Aryan world. In Britain, for example, the obligation to the State—once exacted in the form of service—has been minimised into symbolic forms, or has dwindled away

in the form of a redeemed land-tax, which from four shillings in the pound has fallen to perhaps one penny.* In India, on the other hand, where a civilised administration has been brought to bear upon archaic institutions, the land is held in partnership whereof the State and the cultivator are members, and in the more fortunate cases the only members. In Bengal, as we know, the ill-informed benevolence of Lord Cornwallis introduced some approximation to the British system: the nation having parted with its interest in the land for a most insufficient quit rent, while the interest of the cultivator has been sacrificed to landlords and their lessees who resent all interference.

To sum up; the studies of Sir H. S. Maine have been most interesting and important. They have had a prominent part in showing that, with all the subsequent variations of development, Aryan legal ideas have originated in a fundamentally true view of human society. That view being, that, in place of remaining a promiscuous incoherent herd of highly organised animals, browsing or quarrelling under a self-appointed herdsman, mankind, in order to prosper, must construct a coherent association founded on the combination of cells or atoms, integers in fact, consisting of the union of one person of either sex with one of the other; the numbers of the sexes being normally equal. That a certain sense of cosmic order, derived, it is probable, from an observation of natural phenomena, led these primeval Aryans to regard law (the Greek Themis, daughter of Heaven and Earth, wife of Zeus, mother of the Hours and the Fates, of Equity and of Peace) as something holy and absolute. That the influences of colonisation first relaxed the rigour of this feeling in the West, so that occidental law reform began before oriental, and at once took the direction of disentangling law from religion, and adopting the former as a human instrument to human ends. But that the same path has been ultimately pursued, though in a more timid spirit, by the chief Eastern section of the race; which in the end, coming to be ruled by the descendants of the Western colonists, has found itself in the singular position where an archaic system is directed by modern skill. And we see a door opened for the admission of a spirit of unlimited, though gradual, modification which, begun cautiously by alien but sympathetic Courts, may be destined to be carried to much greater lengths in the hands of indigenous reformers.

H. G. KEENE

* The land-tax not redeemed is a little over a million, *p. a.* on a gross rental of perhaps nearly two hundred millions.

ART. V.—THE VICISSITUDES OF THE CITY OF BAGHDAD FROM ITS FOUNDATION TILL OUR TIMES.

BAGHDAD was the seat of the Khalifs, the capital of Islam, and the centre of commerce, art and science during five hundred years ; but it not only lost its splendour when the Mongol, Holagu Khan, took it and destroyed the Khalifate in 1258 (A. H. 656) as will be narrated further on ; it was converted into a heap of ashes and lost nearly all its inhabitants ; so that Turkish Baghdad, which afterwards again emerged on the east side of the Tigris, could be but a weak image of the brilliant city of the Khalifs, one of the capitals of the world, covering an extensive area on both banks of the river.

Neither Mekkah, nor Kufah, nor Hashemiah, nor Ambar, was suitable for a fixed centre of a mighty Khalifate, and Abu Ja'fer Al-Mançûr (A. D. 754 till 775), the second Abbasside Khalif, was lucky enough to hit on the right spot for the capital, not only of E'îraq, but of the whole empire. He had been disgusted with Hashemiah, the residence he had inherited from his brother and predecessor, because the turbulent Râwendys had besieged him in it, and he hated the treacherous inhabitants of the adjoining town of Kufah. It is said that before the Khalif determined to build a city on the spot, he consulted a man who lived there, who told him that, if he were to establish his residence between the Euphrates and the Tigris, no enemy could approach him without crossing one of them ; further, that the locality was intermediate between Bosrah, Kufah, Wasit, and Mosul, the newly founded cities of the realm, and that the two rivers would be the means of communication with various countries, whence his residence could be provided with food and articles of trade in abundance, by land as well as by sea, from every quarter of the world.

Moved by the advantages just enumerated, Al-Mançûr eagerly set about building the city (A. H. 145, A. D. 762), ordering the stones to be brought from Madayn and the doors for the new houses from Wasit, so as to adorn the new city with the best materials of the ancient ones. The entire white palace, the Taqi Kesra, was to have been bodily transported from Madayn to Baghdad, and countless labourers commenced the work of destruction. It was, however, soon found that the immense trouble of breaking up the ancient ruins did not pay, and the workmen were recalled. Although the building of the city progressed but slowly and was often interrupted by fights with the descendants of A'li, the

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Khalif with his camp took up his abode in it after the expiration of a year, but it was not finished till A. H. 149 (A. D. 766), when peace had been established, and it obtained the name of *Dār-us-salām*, which may be translated the "seat of peace," or "of salutation." The surrounding lands were divided by Al-Mançūr into various estates, and presented to his adherents, who erected upon them habitations and palaces. The new city was nearly of a circular form and surrounded by two walls, the interior of which was higher than the exterior. The walls had towers, so arranged that the doors in them were not opposite each other, but corresponded always diagonally, wherefore the city obtained the epithet *zaura*, i. e., with *slanting* gates; the palace of the Khalif was in the centre of the town, and by its side the great mosque, so that the visible emblems of the State and the Church were contiguous. At that time the markets and bazárs were all within the town, but they were soon removed beyond the interior city, because, narrates Abul Faraj, when the Vezier of Al Mançur had taken an ambassador from the Emperor of Constantinople through the city and questioned him about its arrangements, the ambassador averred that they were all very handsome, except that the enemies of the Vezier dwelt together with him. He meant the turbulent mob of the bazárs. Accordingly as soon as the ambassador had departed, the Khalif, in order to remove the mob from his vicinity, ordered all the markets to be transplanted beyond the city-wall, to the Karkh, i. e., suburbs on the western bank of the Tigris; so that only the bazar for vegetables, oil and vinegar remained in the city.

After the death of Al Mançur—who expired in his pilgrimage to Mekkah—his son Al Mahdi (A. D. 775 to 785) established the camp of his troops on the east side of the Tigris, and built a new palace in the centre of the camp, which henceforth obtained the name of A'skar-ul-Mahdi. The residence of the Khalifs, which was now distinguished by pompous edifices, he put in communication with the tomb of the Prophet, by making a road to it through the Arabian peninsula, building a caravanserai at each station, erecting milestones along the route, causing wells to be dug, water reservoirs to be cleaned or repaired, and pulpits, like that in Medinah from which Muhammad himself had preached, to be erected in the villages. The city of Baghdad had now become so large, that it extended several Farsakhas along the river.

Harun-ul-Rashid, the fifth Abbaside Khalif, and son of Al-Mahdi (A. D. 786 till 809) also embellished the city by the construction of a new palace, or rather series of barracks for

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his army; but, although convinced of the excellent site and importance of Baghdad as a residence, this Khalif was by no means satisfied with its faithless, quarrelsome and rebellious inhabitants, wherefore he withdrew, towards the end of his reign, to his birthplace, Ray, in Persia, in order to impart to it new splendour by making it the seat of government, but his successors again returned with their treasures to Baghdad and made it their residence, which it remained till the fall of the Khalifate.

When Edrisi wrote (A. D. 1150), Baghdad was at its zenith; the two cities on the left and the right bank were united by bridges of boats constantly crowded with passengers. The eastern town, says he, is remarkable for its multitude of gardens and orchards, irrigated and fertilized by two rivers, so that there would be no necessity even for the water of the Tigris. The surroundings of the western town were irrigated by the Isa canal, branching from the Euphrates, and on the embouchure of which into the Tigris, a bridge called *Dina* was situated. From the Isao, a subordinate canal, the *Sel Sirra*, branched out, which provided not only the fields and gardens of those parts, but the town itself with water. The *Nahr Isa* was not trammelled by any kind of dam, and was navigable from the Euphrates to Baghdad, whereas the *Nahr Sirra* had many sluices with numerous mills upon them.

Abulfeda (who wrote A. D. 1331) states that the *El-Harim* in Baghdad is the sanctuary of the Khalif's palace, which occupies, according to Yakut, one-third of the city. It is surrounded by a wall, beginning on the east bank of the Tigris, and again returning to it in the form of a crescent. The gates leading into it were six in number: 1. *Bab-ul-Ghurba*, the gate of strangers, nearest to the Tigris. 2. *Báb-súq-ut-tamr*, gate of the date market, high, shut up during the Khalifate of Emám-en-Neie (A. D. 1179 to 1225) and remaining so. Then comes 3. *Báb-en-nabi*, the gate of the Prophet, with the threshold to be kissed by the entering ambassadors of princes. 4. *Báb-ul-umma*, the people's gate, whence the wall continues for nearly a mile without a gate to 5. *Báb-Bostán*, the garden-gate. Lastly 6. *Báb-ul-maráteb*, the gate of steps, two arrow-shots distant from the Tigris. The whole space enclosed within these gates is called the Khalif's palace, which has its own markets and habitations of many persons.

This seclusion, in connection with the imbecility and effeminacy of the later Khalifs, which made them only tools in the hands of their Veziers, brought on also their fall, and long before it several independent Khalifates, such as that of Bosrah, Kufah-Khorasan, Persia, Egypt, Spain, &c., had sprung into existence.

This seclusion was also the cause of the last Khalifa's total ignorance of the siege of Baghdad by Hulagu Khan after it had lasted already two months. After the conflagration, the conqueror issued orders to his Vezier (in 1258) for the re-building of the city, but the ramparts, and towers had already been levelled to the ground, a million of the inhabitants of the city and its vicinity had been massacred; the colleges of science for which Bagdad had been famous, had been annihilated, and the library of 100,000 volumes, collected during five hundred years, had become the prey of the flames.

Of the population of Bagdad during the early times of its greatest prosperity, we possess no accurate information, but if it be true, that, when the celebrated Doctor of Divinity Ebu Hanbul died, 800,000 men and 60,000 women accompanied his bier, the city must have been as populous as any of the large capitals of the world. The income of the Khalifate, which extended from the Indus to mount Atlas, and from the river Tigris to the Nile, was concentrated at Bagdad; it was, in the time of Harun-ur-Rashid, estimated to have annually amounted to 7,500 hundredweights of gold. In one of the last brilliant audiences given by the Khalif Moqtadir (A. D. 908 to 932) to an ambassador of the Byzantine Emperor in his palace, there were present 700 chamberlains with golden belts, 4,000 white, and 3,000 black, eunuchs; an army of 16,000 men was drawn up on parade; 38,000 pieces of cloth, of which 12,500 were embroidered with gold, covered the walls, and 40,000 carpets the floors of the palace, whilst 100 lions, with their keepers, stood at its gates. The throne was shaded by the celebrated tree with 18 branches of gold and silver, studded with singing birds of the same metals, like the golden tree which stood in the Pentapyrgion, the palace of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus. All this pomp implies a high state of industry, trade and art, to have produced it, and connections with distant regions from which embassies arrived.

In 1170 the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela went from Spain to Palestine and Bagdad, which was at that time still the capital of the empire of the Khalifs, although they no longer constituted the centre of Muhammadan power, since the Amirship, or dominion, had, in the middle of the eleventh century, been usurped by the Sultans of the Seljukides, who, however, had in their turn become split up, and divided the empire into small provinces in the middle of the twelfth. The phantom of the ancient might of the Khalifs was, however, still held up among the population by the prestige of their descent from the Abbassides,

The remarks of the Rabbi Benjamin on Bagdad.

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by the insignia of the Khalifate, by the palace to which they were relegated, and where they dwelt with their harem, their eunuchs, chamberlains and parasites, as well as by the mysterious invisibility of their person, which had, however, together with their dignity, and even their life, become a mere plaything in the hands of the Vezier who happened to be strong and cunning enough to usurp the substance of power and to leave the shadow of it to the Khalif.

Rabbi Benjamin, who was at Baghdad during the reign of the Khalif *Mustazy*, never mentions his name, but often calls him *Amyr-ul-mumanyyn*, Commander of the Faithful. All Muhammadan princes, says the Rabbi, acknowledge the Khalif to be their spiritual chief, as the Christian ones do the Pope. His habitation—the harem above described—is a small house in circumference; his palace is surrounded by a large park, planted with all kinds of trees for use and pleasure; it contains many kinds of animals, and a lake of water filled from the Tigris, serving as a resort for the chase of birds, game and fish, in which also the courtiers are invited to partake. He has no other income except that which he gains by the labour of his hands [?] wherefore he makes carpets which he stamps with his seal, that his courtiers may sell them in the bazars, where the nobles of the country purchase them.

The present Khalif, continues the Rabbi, is an excellent man, honest, benevolent towards everybody, but invisible to Muhammadans. Pilgrims from foreign countries, who often pass through Baghdad on their road to Mekkah, usually desire to be presented to him; and invoke him as "Master! Light of the Believers!" but he himself remains always concealed, and hangs out only a corner of his garment from the window, which is then eagerly kissed, whilst one of the attendants of the Khalif imparts to them a blessing in the following words:—"Go in peace; the Master, the Light of the Believers, is friendly to thee, and gives thee his blessing." Thus they go away joyfully, because they esteem the Khalif equally with their Prophet.

The members of the Khalif's family, and also his brothers kiss his garment; they dwell in palaces, but are kept in confinement under their superintendents, to hinder their revolting against their chief. In his own palace, however, every one of them is highly respected; he possesses villages and towns, the revenues whereof are administered by their agents; they eat, and carouse and lead a jolly life.

The palace of the Khalif, which contains many large buildings, columns of gold and silver, jewels and treasures of all kinds, is left by him only *once* a year, namely, during the festival of

Ramadan. On that occasion he mounts a mule, royally adorned, with cloths of silver and of gold. His turban, however, with its costliest jewels, is wrapped in a black veil, as a sign of humility. A numerous retinue of nobles, among whom there are princes from Arabia, Media, Persia, and from more distant countries, follow him in rich dresses; the procession goes from the palace to the Bosrah gate, where the great chief mosque is situated. All who take part in this ceremony, women as well as men, are dressed in silk and purple; the streets are full of singers, dancers and rejoicings. All greet the Khalif, who at last alights in the vestibule of the mosque, mounts the wooden pulpit, and expounds the law. Learned Moslems rise and praise his goodness and piety, whereon he propounds his benediction. Then he slaughters the camel brought there for sacrifice, and distributes the pieces among the grandees, which they again divide among their friends for consumption, every one being anxious to eat a morsel of the animal which fell by the sacred hands of the Khalif. The solemnity being finished, the Khalif now returns to his palace near the Tigris, accompanied by the grandees in boats on the river, but he enters his palace alone. He never returns by the same route by which he departed. The water-way is carefully guarded, and the Khalif never leaves his dwelling again throughout the whole of the following year.

His piety, says Rabbi Benjamin, he has shown also by building on the other side of the water, on an arm of the Euphrates, many large edifices, whole streets, and hospitals for the poor, where they are cured of their diseases. Here are about 60 pharmacies, provided from the magazines of the Khalif with every thing needed by the patients till their recovery; there is also a large building the *Dār-ul-marabbatyn* [abode of the tied], where lunatics are confined, chiefly during the hot season, each being fettered by an iron-chain till he recovers his senses, and may again be received by his family.

Baghdad has 10,000 Jews among its inhabitants, who live in peace and comfort, and enjoy much respect. Among them there are many wise men, doctors of the Mosaic law, and presidents of the colleges, where it is taught. The chief of all is the Rabbi Daniel Ben Khisdai, the prince of the captivity, the lord, whose pedigree is traced to king David. Under the authority of the *Amyr-ul-múmenyn* he enjoys the supreme command over all the Jewish congregations, and possesses, to that effect, a seal which the Khalif bestowed upon him. Every one, be he Jew or Moslem, must rise in his presence, or receive a punishment of 100 lashes. He goes to the audience of the Khalif with a large escort of horsemen; he wears embroidered silk garments, a white turban

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with a diadem-like ornament, and heralds shout before him—"Make room for the Lord, the son of David!" His power extends over Mesopotamia, Persia, Khorasan, Saba in Yemen, Diarbekir, Armenia, and to the land of Cuthaea near mount Ararat; also over the country of the Alans to the iron gate of Alexander (Darband) and over the provinces of the Turkomans, to the Oxus as far as Tibet and India. He permits, to all communities of those parts, to elect for their Rabbis, only such as have been ordained and permitted by him to officiate, wherefore numerous presents are sent to him also from most distant regions.

This *Prince of the Captivity* has dwelling houses, gardens, tree-plantations, and large estates in Babylonia, inherited from his ancestors, and not alienable by any one; he draws revenues also from Jewish hostels, markets, and goods on which toll is levied. He is very rich, but also learned and hospitable, so that daily a great number of Israelites dine with him at the same table. At the time of his installation he must, however, disburse large sums of money to the Khalif and to the princes of his house. His consecration takes place in the palace of the Khalif, who places his hands upon him, whereon the prince returns, accompanied by music, to his own dwelling, and there consecrates the members and presidents of his own community by the imposition of hands.

Many Jews in Baghdad are rich and learned; they have twenty-eight synagogues partly in the city itself, and partly in Al-Korkh on the west side of the Tigris. The chief synagogue of the Prince of the Captivity is adorned with columns of variegated marble, overlaid with gold and silver, on the pillars of which certain Psalms are written in golden letters. The altar upon which the roll of the Pentateuch is placed has ten marble steps, on the uppermost of which the stalls of the Prince of the Captivity and of the other princes of the house of David are placed.

Nothing in the whole of Mesopotamia can be compared with the rich surroundings of Baghdad, with its gardens, orchards and date-groves; merchants from all countries meet in Baghdad for purposes of trade; also many sages and philosophers, learned in the sciences, dwell there, as well as Magi who are skilled in all kinds of magic arts.

Mosta'csem was the last and apparently also the most weak-minded Khalif. He began to reign in 640 (1242) and appointed Ebn O'lkamy to be his Vezier in 642 (1244). Two years, however, before the last mentioned event, and therefore simultaneously with the accession of the Khalif to the throne, the Tigris, as if it were a harbinger of further calamities, and of extinction of the Abbaside Khalifate, overflowed its banks, and so ruined

Fall of Baghdad and
extinction of the Khalifate.

the city, that not more than three mosques remained standing, whilst thousands of other buildings were levelled to the ground. In 651 (1253) Hulagu the brother of the Grand Khán Kubila, and grandson of Chenghiz, began his march from the east to the west, and having in 654 (1256) conquered the intervening countries, attacked Baghdád by the advice of Khwájáh Nágyr-al-din Túsy; * took and sacked it in 656 (1258), keeping the Khalif imprisoned for some time, and slaying him at last, with his sons and several thousand noble A'bbasides. Mosta'cem was the 36th or 37th Khalif of the house of A'bbás, which had reigned 520 years. He had been sixteen years and eight months on the throne, and had, according to Hamdullah Mustafy Kazvyny, attained the age of forty-six years and three months.

The effeminacy and imbecility of the later A'bbasides contributed so largely to the diminution of their power, that gradually several Khalifates, independent of each other, such as those of Boçrah, Kufa, Egypt, Khorásán, Fárs and Egypt, sprang into existence, so that long before the time of Mosta'cem, the power of an Abbaside Khalif scarcely embraced a larger area than the city of Baghdád with its immediate environs. The Khalifs nevertheless kept up the regal pomp of a great court with its innumerable parasites, who absorbed the larger portion of the revenues. The last Khalif remained faithful to the traditions of his predecessors, and not only continued to maintain thousands of courtiers and attendants, but left to posterity a singular example of his conceit and folly, recorded in the pages of Mirkhond, who, however, always speaks respectfully of him, and either does not see, or does not venture to regard it in the light we do:—The Khalif had in the vicinity of his palace, set up a black stone, like that on the Ka'bah, which pilgrims are obliged to kiss. This homage he exacted also for his stone, which he covered with a piece of black satin in the form of a large sleeve, and every one seeking an audience, even if he happened to be a sovereign prince, was

* The private character of this great astronomer and mathematician has a very dark blot. He entered the service of the last prince of the Assassins, only for the purpose of avenging himself on the Khalif Mosta'cem who had disparaged one of his works. When, however, Nágyr-al-din became aware of Hulagu's power, he not only betrayed his master to him, but led the Mongol conqueror also to Baghdád, in order to quench his thirst for vengeance in the blood of the Khalif. The devastation of Baghdád, the destruction of the schools and the loss of the most precious books which were thrown into the Tigris by the Mongols, weigh as heavy crimes upon the memory of Nágyr-al-din, for which the astronomical observatory afterwards erected by him at Muraghah for Hulagu, cannot atone. The demolition of the forts of the Assassins was a merit in the cause of humanity, but it was accomplished by the treachery of Nágyr-al-dyn Túsy.

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obliged first to pay a visit to this emblem, and to kiss the stone. The ceremony could not be avoided, but such an instance is mentioned when Mulláná Majd-al-din—who had been sent as ambassador to the Khalif from Shiráz by the Atabeg Sa'd Muzaffer-al-din Abu Bekr—was invited to kiss the stone, and instead of doing so, placed the Quorán upon it, to which he paid the required act of homage. Another weakness of Mosta'çem was to ride out on horseback, with a large black veil over his face. The curiosity of the people was nevertheless so great, that all the windows in the streets through which he passed, were let out on such occasions for hire, and fetched 30,000 dinárs every time. This sum appears to be exaggerated, as money could not at that period of time have been so abundant in the city; nor is it stated whether the householders or the Government profited by the liberality of the sightseers.

Although the revenues of the Khalif must have been scanty, he is nevertheless said to have maintained an army, consisting of 124,000 cavalry, and each of the courtiers had his retainers in proportion; but it is not unlikely that the troops were quartered on the people, who probably also fed them. The Commander-in-Chief of the army appears to have been Sulaymún Sháh—who will afterwards be mentioned with the additional title of Duwátdár, or inkstand-holder, i.e., secretary—who did not distinguish himself particularly, but the above mentioned Vezier played the rôle of a traitor on the fall of Baghdad and the extinction of the Khalif.

The account of Mulláná Mou'yn-al-din Asfrátri in his *Raudat-al-jennát fy aveaf Herát* about Ebn O'lkamy differs somewhat from that of Mirkhond. Both authors agree, however, on the main points, and state that not only had the Vezier, being a staunch Shya'h and consequently a partizan of the descendants of A'ly, been slighted by some of the courtiers of Mosta'çem, but Abu Bekr, a son of the latter, encouraged by the coldness which even his father manifested towards Ebn O'lkamy, went so far as to send a number of troops to the suburb of Baghdad, named Karkh, to plunder it and to take prisoners the Bany Háshem who lived there with their wives and children; all of whom, having been placed on horses, were ignominiously marched through the bázár. This act of Abu Bekr was considered disgraceful, and blamed even by the antagonistic and dominant Sunni faction, and exasperated the Vezier to such a degree, that he conceived a plan for taking vengeance and annihilating all his foes, by inviting Hulagu the Mongol Ilkhán to take possession of the city of Baghdad.

There is no doubt that, as Hulagu was approaching more closely the dominions of Mosta'çem—which were now very small—and

had already taken the forts of the Assassins, † he would soon have reached Baghdád without the invitation of Al-O'lkamy, which, however, may have accelerated his arrival. This Vezier is said to have secretly gone and offered his service to Hulagu Khán, but, as such a step would have been fraught with the greatest danger, another account, according to which he despatched only a confidential servant with a message, is more credible. That message was as follows:—"If the Ilkhán will march to Baghdád before preparations for war can be made, there will be no necessity to fight." This overture on the part of the Vezier not being sufficient to induce Hulagu to act in conformity therewith, † Al-O'lkamy promised that, instead of concentrating, he would disperse the Khalif's army, and do everything he could to surrender the city to Hulagu. The Ilkhán had great faith in astrology and consulted Khwájáh Nácyr-al-din Túsy, who occupied a high position at his court, whether the stars would favour the enterprise he meditated. The astronomer royal accordingly took his observations, and informed Hulagu Khán, that the extinction of the A'basside dynasty was close at hand. Having obtained this encouragement of his hopes by the assent of the stars, the Ilkhán ordered Sunják Noyán to march with the vanguard, to cross the Tigris, and to join another General, Tánjú Noyán, west of Baghdád, where both armies should encamp. Meanwhile the Vezier, who had been apprized of the approach of the Mongols, insinuated to the Khalif, that, as all the surrounding potentates were on the most friendly terms with the Commander of the Faithful, and no disturbances were to be apprehended, it would be proper to relieve the treasury from paying allowances to so many officers of the army, by sending them to garrison various parts of the country, which would support them and also augment the revenues of the State. This advice was accepted and Baghdád denuded of troops.

Now Hulagu Khán himself also began his march towards the city, and was gradually joined by those of his Generals with their troops, who had been devastating the country in various directions. Some historians assert that after the Ilkhán had conquered the forts of the Ismailis, he sent—no doubt to obtain a pretext for a *casus belli*, as is customary also with modern conquerors—an

* The Ismailis, whom true Moslems designate as Mollábedáh, or heretics, were also called Hashis (from their habit of eating Hashish) which name became Europeanized by its transformation into Assassin. The historian Jowayny, who accompanied Hulagu in his expeditions, narrates how in 1266 Rokr-al-dyn, the last sovereign of Almáut, was captured and slain by Hulagu.

† Mirkhond states that the troops of Ogotai, who was Grand Khán from 1221 to 1241 had suffered reverses in their attempts to take Baghdád, and that, therefore, Hulagu was unwilling at once to march against the city.

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embassy to the Khalif Mosta'cem, blaming him for not having despatched any troops to aid the Mongols in the expedition against the assassins just mentioned, and to inform him that this omission would be condoned, if he agreed to destroy the ramparts and towers of Baghdád, to fill up the moats, and to abdicate the government in favour of his own son. The Khalif was at the same time ordered to make his appearance, in person, in the camp of Hulagu Khán, or to send his Commander-in-Chief Sulaymán Sháh, in order to avoid hostilities; but to be prepared for his own ruin and destruction in case of refusal to comply with this invitation. When the ambassadors had delivered their message, the Khalif despatched Ebn Júzy and Mudabbar-al-dyn Nakhchivány in their company to Hulagu Khán, with the following reply, the grandiloquent style of which will not appear improbable, if it be considered that even in the present age, paltry eastern monarchs, steeped in complete ignorance of the external world, and misguided by the fulsome flatteries of the courtiers who surround them and govern them, still exist, and are credulous as well as imbecile enough to believe that they are great potentates. The reply was this:—"O youthful and inexperienced prince, why do you rely upon your good fortune of a few days? Do not ask from me what you will never obtain. Are you not aware that from the West to the East, all men who know God and the prophet obey me? When I assemble my scattered hosts, I shall first march to Erán, then to Turán, and establish every one in his proper place. Return peaceably to Khorásán, for, if you desire war, I have millions of soldiers." When the ambassadors left the city of Baghdád they saw thousands of the inhabitants on the roads, who insulted them and spat at them in order to provoke reprisals, and then to attack them; but, information having been conveyed to the Vezier, he quickly despatched some of his people, who succeeded in extricating the embassy from the mob.

When the ambassadors had arrived in the camp of the Ilkhán Hulagu, they reported to him what had taken place. He became angry, said that he had expected the Khalif to have more sense, and vouchsafed that if he were as crooked as a bow, he would make him as straight as an arrow. When the envoys of the Khalif were admitted to the presence of the Ilkhán, after he had heard the above recorded answer of the Khalif, he was displeased, but nevertheless uttered only the following words:—"Those people must have a nature different from ours to make attempts of this kind." When he dismissed the envoys of the Khalif in 655 (began 9th January 1257), he gave them the following letter for Mosta'cem:—"The love of gold and pomp has so engrossed your mind, that the words of your

well-wishers make no impression upon you. Get ready to fight, for I shall attack you with a numerous army." When the envoys returned to Baghdad, they first communicated with the Vezier, who then made his report to the Khalif, and probably did not conceal the danger impending over Mosta'cem, as we are informed that he ordered O'lkamy to give his opinion at once of what it would be best to do. The Vezier replied :—" We must grease the heels of the foe with gifts. The Ilkhán is to be propitiated with a present of the finest goods loaded on a thousand donkeys, by an offering of one thousand dromedaries, and as many caparisoned steeds. The princes and the officers of his army are, according to their various ranks, to receive similar presents ; Hulagu is to be proclaimed sovereign, and money is to be coined in his name. Thus the calamity will be averted." Mosta'cem at first assented to this proposal, and informed all his Amyrs of his resolution to abide by it. Mujáhed-ul-dyn, however, objected, and made, with the consent of the other nobles, who were, like himself, enemies of Al-O'lkamy, the following speech :—" In this matter the Vezier seeks merely his own advantage, and endeavours to ingratiate himself with Hulagu Khán ; he will draw only calamity upon the Amyrs and the troops. We must concentrate the army and block the road of the foe." The Khalif now approved of this advice, having entirely changed his mind. Al-O'lkamy, therefore, no longer urged the necessity of sending gifts to propitiate the Mongol conqueror.

According to other accounts the Khalif met even the first advice of Al-O'lkamy with a negative answer, simply remarking :—" Thy beard is long, but thy intellect small ;" when, however, the Tátár army had come close, and began the siege in earnest, and Mosta'cem was much distressed, he consulted the Vezier again in his troubles ; the latter, however, simply replied :—" Our beard is long."

Although the Khalif appears to have been kept ignorant of the real state of affairs, some of his courtiers were nevertheless intelligent and sincere enough to advise him, to concentrate, for the defence of Baghdad, the whole of his army, which was scattered over the country, and not to listen to any thing Al-O'lkamy might suggest, as they considered him to be a traitor, desirous of overthrowing the Khalifate. Mosta'cem nevertheless followed the advice of his Vezier, who succeeded in persuading him that there would be no occasion even for the troops stationed in Baghdad to combat the Mongols, because the children and women would, by throwing stones and brickbats upon them from the housetops, humble them like little dogs and put them to flight. Accordingly nothing was done. Suddenly, however, the news

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arrived that Sanják and Tánjú Noyán were, 'with a portion of the Ilkhán's army, approaching the city. Now the Khalif at once despatched Fath-al-dyn and Mujáhed-al-din with ten thousand men, all cavalry, to repel the foe. An encounter soon took place in which the Mongols turned their backs. On this occasion Fath-al-din, who was an experienced General, determined not to pursue the Mongols but to encamp. Mujáhed-al-din, a hot tempered and untried commander, was, however, of a contrary opinion, insisted that it would be folly to wait for the Mongols to return with reinforcements, reproached Mujáhed with lukewarmness, and became so impetuous, that the whole army ran in pursuit of the fugitives; when, however, the latter 'had decoyed it to a considerable distance from Baghdad, they suddenly turned and attacked the Khalif's army, and a battle ensued which lasted till sunset. During the night the Mongols let the water of the Euphrates into the camp of their opponents, and thus caused great confusion, which became still greater through the sudden irruption of the Mongols themselves, who slew Fath-al-dyn, and massacred the remnant of the army which had escaped drowning, so that of the whole of it only Mujáhed-al-din with three men returned that night to Baghdád.

In the month Dulhejjah of 655 (December of 1257) Hulagu Khán himself arrived, and the Khalif ordered all the roads of the city to be barricaded, the bastions to be repaired, and the whole population to take up arms. Hostilities soon commenced, and many thousands fell in battles fought daily, during more than a month. At last many nobles, such as Mujáhed-al-din, Muhammad B. Hasan Távusy, Sayyid Badr-al-dyn Yusaf and others, despatched a trusty and eloquent messenger with the following letter to the Ilkhán: "Our ancestors, the twelve Emáms, have informed us, but especially the Commander of the Faithful, A'ly B. Aby Táleh, that you will conquer the Arabian E'rák, and we hereby freely offer you our allegiance, promising gladly to obey all your orders." Hulagu Khán was so pleased with this information, that he immediately appointed an officer with a guard, to watch over the safety of the persons just mentioned, who had thus early submitted. They lived in Hillah and henceforth enjoyed Hulagu's protection, which was no doubt necessary, as they had become traitors to the cause of Mosta'cem, who had, like his predecessors, persecuted the Shya'hs, but more especially the descendants of the family of A'ly, and who now reaped the fruits of his severity, in their defection.

When Hulágu began to press the siege of Bagh'dad more closely, and distress had begun to manifest itself severely in the city, the Vezier represented to the Khalif, that, as longer resistance

would be useless, the best way of averting further calamities would be to make friendly overtures to Hulagu Khán, and, if possible, to obtain one of the ladies of the Chenghiz dynasty as a wife for the son of the Khalif, in which manner the dynasty would be saved by the participation of the Mongols in the government, and further bloodshed avoided. The Khalif and his courtiers, being now in the greatest perplexity, determined to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Ilkhán. Accordingly, on Sunday the 4th, Cafar of 656 (11th February 1258) the Khalif with his Amyrs, his sons Abu Bekr and A'bd-al-Rahman, crowd of learned and pious men, as well as numberless attendants, left the city to proceed to his camp.

The circumstances under which the Khalif presented himself to the Ilkhán are narrated more in detail as follows:—When Jánjú Noyán, and Sanják Bahadur had defeated the army commanded by Fath-al-dyn and Máujhed-al-din, they continued their march till they arrived on the west side of Baghdád, where they pitched their camp on the bank of the Tigris. Meanwhile Kosúká Noyán had likewise arrived with a numerous army, and Hulagu Khán encamped near the Burja'jamy, or Persian tower, on the east side of the city, which was now surrounded on all sides by the Mongols. The first attack is said to have been made on the 3rd Muharrem 656 (10th January 1258) when catapults were erected, the stones of which soon laid low several towers. The Khalif, being much distressed in mind, at once sent out his Vezier to Hulagu Khán to treat with him, and to conclude peace as he had promised; but the Ilkhán replied, "I made such a promise when I was in Hamdún, but now I am in Baghdád. The sea of trouble has become stormy. How can I treat with one plenipotentiary? The Khalif must send also his Duwátdár (chief secretary) Sulaymán Sháh." Accordingly the deputation returned to the city, but came again the next day with a larger number of men of high position; whom, however, the Mongol prince likewise scorned to treat with. The attack was continued several days longer, multitudes were slain, and six arrows were shot from as many directions into the city, bearing the following written message: "Sayyids, Magistrates. U'lemmas and other non-combatants need fear nothing for their lives from the Mongols." At last the enemy scaled the Persian tower and the inhabitants retreated from that spot. The Duwátdár thought that now nothing remained but to flee, and, embarking his people in boats, floated as far down as Kariat al-u'kább. There, however, a post with a catapult and napht-throwers had been established for the purpose of hindering the

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escape of the people by the river, and three boats were at once destroyed, but the Duwátdár succeeded with difficulty in returning to the city. Now the Khalif thought of propitiating the Mongols by despatching Fakr-al-dyn Dámgh'ány and Ebn Durwaysh with some presents to Hulagu Khán, but he rejected them. Then two sons of the Khalif hastened out with several nobles bearing gifts, and after them again others, all of whom the Ilkhán scorned to receive, but he sent back the Vezier and Ebn Durwaysh, ordering them to bring out with them the Duwátdár, Sulaymán Sháh. He also guaranteed them safe conduct, and said that he left it to the option of the Khalif to remain in the city or to come out. The noble just mentioned obeyed the summons, and immediately presented himself in the camp of Hulagu Khán, who ordered him to bring from the city all his friends, acquaintances and adherents, as their lives would be spared by sending them to Egypt and Syria. Sulaymán again obeyed and brought out many thousands from the city, all being under the impression that their lives would be safe. As soon, however, as they arrived in the camp, they were distributed among the Mongols in bands of fifties and hundreds, and were all massacred. On this occasion an arrow, from the city happened to pierce the eye of a Hindu, Batakji, a great Amyr, much favoured by Hulagu Khan, who became so incensed by this accident that he ordered the hastening of the conquest of Baghdad. He also commanded Sálaimun Sháh, with his nearest relatives, to be brought fettered into his presence, and addressed him thus: "As you are an astrologer and acquainted with both the lucky and the unlucky aspects of the stars, and scan the degrees and minutes of their ascensions when you take your horoscopes, how is it that you could not see how to regulate your conduct so as to prevent so much bloodshed?" The helpless man replied:—"The unfortunate Khalif was unwilling to be guided by the advice of his well-wishers." After conversing a little longer Sálaimun Sháh was likewise slain, with all his relatives and adherents. When the Khalif saw that his case was desperate, he took his three sons, and one thousand nobles, Sayyids, courtiers, U'lemma, &c., and went to the camp of Hulagu Khán.

When Mosta'çem with his numerous retinue had arrived near the tent of the Ilkhán, admittance was asked, but refused to all except to the Khalif and his three sons. Hulagu received the Khalif angrily, and ordered him at once to despatch a message to the city, that all the inhabitants should throw away their arms, and come out for the purpose of being counted. Accordingly Mosta'çem ordered a proclamation to be made in Baghdad, that every man desirous of saving his life should put away his arms and

hasten to the camp of the Ilkhán. The cavalry accordingly marched out in detachments and were immediately slain.

The Khalif, with his sons, was placed in a special tent under a guard, and Baghdad sacked, the people of the city and its environs being slain in such numbers, that rivers of blood flowed in the streets. The moats were filled up and the fortifications razed to the ground in an incredibly short time. The palace of the Khalif, the mosque, and the mausoleums of saints, after being plundered, were set on fire, so that the flames consumed what the Mongols had spared. Costly vessels of gold and silver, whose price was unknown to the barbarians, were sold by them as if they had been only of brass or lead, so that many destitute persons who purchased them became rich. Besides the vessels of precious metals and jewels, the Mongols obtained possession of all kinds of merchandize, cattle and slaves, both male and female, which they had found in the mansions of the Khalif and of opulent inhabitants.

It is said that, on Friday the 9th, Cafar 656 (16th February 1258), the Ilkhán had gone to the Khalif's palace in order to give a banquet to his officers, and that, ordering him into his presence, he said :—"You are the host, and we your guests, produce whatever suitable you have for us." Mosta'çem appears to have been simple enough to believe that these words were uttered in earnest, and, being unable to distinguish the keys of his treasury, ordered the padlocks of it to be broken. Two thousand suits of costly garments, with ten thousand gold dinárs, were taken out and placed before Hulagu Khán, who took no notice of the booty, and distributed it at once to his Amyrs. After a while he said to the Khalif :—"The property which you have, is not yours, but belongs to your subjects, and we need not ask your permission for it. Now tell us where your hidden treasures are?" The Khalif pointed to the courtyard of the palace, which was immediately dug up, and a tank discovered full of golden ingots, each of which weighed a thousand mithkâls.

There are various accounts of the manner in which Mosta'çem perished. One of these is, that Hulagu Khan had ordered food to be withheld from the Khalif, and that, the latter having become very hungry and impatient, the matter was reported to the Ilkhán, who immediately ordered a dish full of precious gems and gold to be placed before him. The attendant said :—"You are by the command of the Ilkhán to eat these things," and the Khalif replied "How can I eat gold and jewels?" Hulagu then said :—"You have sacrificed so many thousands of lives for your safety, and given none of these things to your soldiers in order to defend you against my army : " but the only reply Mosta'çem could give, was a flood of tears.

The Ilkhán consulted his Amyrs about taking the Khalif's life, or preserving it, and they stated, that, as the Moslems considered him to be a true successor of the prophet and their supreme pontiff, enjoying command over their lives and property, he might, if left alive, again collect an army, and cause much trouble; accordingly Hulagu Khán decided that Mosta'çem should be killed. The astrologer Hisám-al-dyn heard of the intention of the Ilkhán and represented to him, that, in case the Khalif should be slain, darkness would cover the world, and the signs of the resurrection would make their appearance. This information Hulagu communicated to the Khwajah Naçyr-al-din Túsy, who replied that some Khalifs had been slain before, but that none of these things had happened, and the spheres had continued to revolve as before. It is nevertheless believed that Hulagu, who was in some respects superstitious and well known to be also a firm believer in astrology, hesitated a whole year before he put his plan into execution, and even then yielded so far to the suggestions of Hisam-al-dyn, who insisted that Mosta'çem's blood ought not to be shed, that the body of the Khalif was wrapped in a piece of coarse cloth and violently shaken until he expired. The sons of the Khalif and many nobles were slain, but those who had taken the precaution to dress in rags escaped. After a while the corpses were removed from the city, and it began again gradually to revive. Ebn O'lkamy, who had hoped to obtain the governorship of Baghdad as a reward for his services to the Mongol conqueror, was taken no more notice of, because Hulagu concluded, that a man who had betrayed his old master, would not be faithful to a new one. Ebn O'lkamy lived for some time longer, but died in misery and scorned by all. According to some, however, he was also slain, and a man from the lowest dregs of the people, who had no education whatever, raised by Hulagu Khán to the dignity of governor of Baghdad.

After its fall the ruined city gradually recovered a portion of its ancient wealth again, and as Indian men, i. e., ships trading to this country, are mentioned by the noble Venetian, Marco Polo, its commerce must have been extensive. In the seventh chapter of his book, Marco, who was in those parts in 1300 A. D., gives us this information about Baghdad, which he, like all his countrymen of that period, always calls *Baldacco* or *Baldach*, though some also named it *Babellonia*. It is, says he, a large city, formerly the residence of the Khalif, or pontiff of all the Saracens. A large river (the Tigris) passes through it, and on it the merchants transport their goods to and from India; on account of the windings of the river the voyage on the river lasts 17 days. These Indiamen, after leaving the river, land first at *Kisi* [the island *Keish*,

- at that time the most flourishing emporium after the fall of Siraf], and thence go to sea. But before they reach the anchorage and this sea-station, they first pass near *Balsara* (Bosrah), which is surrounded by palm-groves, producing the best dates in the world.

- In the town of *Baldach* there is a manufactory of silk-cloth with gold (*Baldachino*, canopy), but *damasts* also are worked there, and also *veluti* (velvets), with figures of beasts and birds (drappi a bestie ed a uccelli), no doubt those beautiful velvet-like carpets produced by Shyah Persian workmen, and celebrated from olden times.

All pearls, says Marco Polo, which come from India to Europe, are perforated at *Baldach*; this was the wholesale emporium of the pearl-trade. The treasure of the Khalif in gold, silver and jewels was the largest in the world. In Baghdad the Muhammadan law is studied, and it contains numerous Madrassahs where the sciences are taught; it is the noblest and largest town existing in this part of the world. The last of the Abasside Khalifs (Mosta'jem Billah) met, however, with a miserable end (in 1258) because he was weak, inactive and extravagant, and had been betrayed by his minister to the Mongol foe who slew him. Thus Marco terminates his account of Baghdad which he learnt perhaps only from hearsay.

- The learned Arab, Ebn Batuta, of Tangiers in Mauritania, visited, before the middle of the 14th century, the remotest countries of the interior of

Remarks of Ebn Batuta.

Africa, India and China. He was in Baghdad about the year 1325, when it had already long ago lost its Khalifs, and had become the residence of the Mongol dynasty of Persia. At that time the valiant *Abu Sa'yd Bahádur Khán* (reigned from 1317 till 1335), who had become a zealous Moslem, and was master not only of the whole of Erán but also of Asia Minor, resided partly at Sultanieh, which his father, Khoda Obendeh Oljaitu, had built, and partly in Baghdad, which, says Ebn Batuta, is still one of the largest towns. Its inhabitants are mostly of the sect of Hanbal. Over the tomb of Abu Hanifa a dome and a mosque are erected, and not far from the locality is also the sepulchre of the Emám Ahmed Ebn Hanbal. They are chiefs of two of the four orthodox sects which reside in Baghdad. The Sultán of the two Eráqs (Ajami and Arabi) and of Khorásán, as Ebn Batuta calls Abu Sa'yd, gave the foreign doctor of the Qoran a hospitable reception, and permitted him, on leaving Baghdad, to follow in his retinue as far as the summer residence (Sultanieh), so that he assures us, that during a march of ten days, he had opportunities of observing the wonderful arrangements and the numerous army of the escort.

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About 200 years after, Baghdad had, under the dominion of the Mongol Khans, again risen from its ashes and recovered a portion of its ancient splendour, as we have just narrated. According to Ebn Batuta, it was destroyed by Tymur.

(Tamerlane) after his conquest and return from Syria in 1401 (A. H. 803). He had, however, to lay regular siege to the city, which fell only after Ferruj, the valiant governor of the Khán Ahmed Jellayr, had offered the most valiant resistance. It became necessary to surround the city, and this was easily effected, as the conqueror's army consisted of 90,000 men. The excessive heat which prevailed at the time, distressed the besiegers and the besieged equally, and Mirkhond informs us that the latter resorted to the stratagem of leaving, during the heat of the day, only their helmets and lances on the ramparts, and retiring into the shade. This opportunity was not lost upon the besiegers, who at once stormed the place simultaneously from various places, and the slaughter which ensued may be imagined if it be considered that every soldier was ordered to bring a head, and that pyramids of skulls were erected before the gates to commemorate the victory. Those who had fled by water, were shot at with arrows, and most of them drowned in the Tigris. The city was razed to the ground, and in the conflagration which ensued, many buildings, such as mosques, which the conqueror had intended to spare, were ruined. Those priests and scholars who had taken an early opportunity to plead for mercy in the camp of Tymur, saved their lives, but all the other inhabitants were massacred. Mirkhond also informs us that, after burning the city and slaughtering the people, by the aid of God, Tymur Saheb Qyráu [Lord of the two fortunate conjunctions, Jupiter and Mars] proceeded one Farsakh up the river and piously visited the *Rauzah* [mausoleum] of the holy Imam Musa, performing the rites of a pilgrim.

One hundred and thirty three years after the event just mentioned, Baghdad fell for the first time into the power of the Turks, and became, in 1534, when Sultan Sulaymán took possession of it, a Turkish town; it was however retaken in 1633 by the Persians, and became a permanent Turkish possession only in 1638, from which year it has uninterruptedly remained such till the present time.

When Murad IV ascended the throne of Stambul, on the 10th September 1623, every one of the Yanitcharis (the famous Prætorians of the Sultans of Turkey) demanded his 25 gold coins for having removed his predecessor, and for having placed

him on the throne, and this mutiny extended even to Baghdad, where great confusion prevailed also on account of the Persian war, and two rebellious commanders, the two *Bekirs*, who waged war against each other. The porte despatched Sulaymán as Pasha to Baghdad, to defend it against the Persians. He was, however, obliged to beleaguer the city, because the stronger of the two Bekirs had called in the aid of Shah A'bbás of Persia. Although a traitor to his master, the same Bekir had nevertheless been appointed governor of Baghdad, because it would have been worse to abandon it to the Persian Shya'h heretics. Now, however, the Persians besieged the city; the son of Bekir betrayed his father and Baghdad at the same time to the foe, and it fell, in November of the same year, into the power of the Persians. The consequence was a most cruel persecution and annihilation of all the Sunnis of Baghdad, whose very sanctuaries were robbed and demolished their tombs dug open, whilst those of the Shya'hs were renovated and repaired. The Persians, who had extended their conquests as far as Diarbekr, remained but a short time in possession of Baghdad, whence these fanatic worshippers of A'li could now go in crowds on pilgrimage to Kerbela. In the year 1626 the Turkish Pasha of Diarbekr, having ascertained that a large portion of the Persian garrison of Baghdad had gone on pilgrimage to their greatest sanctuary, the tomb of A'li on the Euphrates, he took advantage of the opportunity, attacked Baghdad, and cut off the retreat of the pilgrims, but nevertheless was obliged to retire disgracefully. This presently brought on the expedition of Sultan Murad IV to Baghdad, and the second terrible conquest of this capital by the Turks in 1638.

In the former attacks on Baghdad the principal assaults had been made on the north-west corner, the Emam-gate, and the south-side, the gate of darkness; but the breaches existing there had been repaired, and new and strong fortifications erected. The eastern land-side on the *Ak-Kapu*, 'the white gate, had been neglected, and this weak point was, during the present siege, betrayed to the Turks by a Persian. The tents of the *Sultán Murád* had been pitched on the eastern, or Tigris-side, on an eminence near the castle, and the A'ázem Abu Hanifa gate. The tombs of the Enáms, however, the Sultan considered himself yet unworthy to step upon, before conquering the city. Trenches begun to be dug the very first night; the next day the heavy artillery was brought across the Tigris, and the town cannonaded from all sides. On the fourth day 12,000 men, commanded by the Pasha of Tripoli, crossed the

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Tigris, to devastate the gardens of Shehrbæn. By the eighth day of the siege many towers had already been destroyed by the guns. The garrison of the town, however, immediately filled the breaches with baskets made of palm-leaves and filled with earth. To the besieging Turkish troops 260,000 sacks and sheep skins were distributed, for the purpose of transporting earth, and thousands of date-trees were felled for breast-works; meanwhile the Arab Amyr of the desert brought 10,000 camel loads of provisions for the besiegers. The besieged surrendered the city of Baghdad after the first assault (23rd December 1638), but were unable to prevent the most sanguinary massacre which overtook the population; 30,000 Persians escaped, however, by the southern gate of darkness. Katschuk Hasan was the first Pascha of Baghdad, and Sultan Murad IV. returned soon afterwards to Constantinople. The demolition of all the Shya'h monuments followed this catastrophe, which had been preceded by the destruction of all the Sunni tombs, mosques, &c.

Since that time new Turkish Baghdad, favoured by its position on the river-system between India and Europe, Persia, Arabia and Syria, soon recovered itself again as a great emporium of Persian, Indian, and Syrian commerce. Being, moreover, the seat of one of the mightiest and most independent Pashas, Baghdad assumed even the importance of a capital with a court; and in addition to these advantages, the natural fertility of the vicinity, where rice, sugar-cane, pomegranates and dates grow in abundance, enhanced the importance of the city, which would be much greater than it is, if the government were good, and the population industrious.

Of course no traces whatever were left of the palaces of the Khalifs, or of the celebrated astronomical observatory, although Niebuhr informs us, that of the mausoleum of Zobeidah, Hárûn-ur-Rashid's spouse, the octagon, and a tower were still standing: nobody was able to point out the spot where the once famous Nizamiah academy, built by the Grand Vezier, Nizâm-ul-mulk, had stood. That, however, built after its model by the Kalif Al-Mostancer still exists, as appears from the inscription read on it by Niebuhr, but it had become the chief custom-house and caravanserai of the Turks, and has remained such to the most recent times. The tombs have retained their odour of sanctity, especially that of Emam Hanifah the Second, or the so-called greatest Emam of the four orthodox sects. The fourth Emam, Hanbal, also formerly had his tomb on the west side of the Tigris, but it had been washed away by the water before Niebuhr's time. There are many other tombs,

but perhaps those most frequented by pilgrims are the tomb of Sheikh A'bd-ul-Qadir Gaillani, founder of the Qadiri Durwaish order, and the tomb of Sheikh Sehrverdi, who was innocently slain in 1191 as a martyr to his philosophy, but nevertheless remained in the odour of the greatest sanctity as custodian of the sepulchre of the Imam Ebn Hanifah. Traces of the tombs of some of the Abbasside Khalifs also still exist, but the greater portion of Baghdad is a modern Turkish town, and the very remembrance of its older and most celebrated monuments has been lost.

About 25 years after the first conquest of Baghdad by Sultan Suleyman, namely in 1563, Baghdad was visited by the Venetian merchant, Cæsar Federigo, and eleven years later, in the year 1574, by the German physician Dr. Rauwolff. The former knows it only under the name of *Babylon*, and is astonished that it was not a large city, although he saw numerous merchants who sojourned there in their transit between Persia, Arabia and Turkey. He also found many Armenians, who sailed down the Tigris in ships made of inflated bags, but broke up their rafts on arriving, and again returned home with their leather-bags. At that time a bridge of boats also already existed, which was however taken to pieces when the waters rose, and when the people crossed the Tigris in little boats.

• Dr. Rauwolff calls the same town *Bagudet*, or *Baldac*, where he was well received by a merchant who had come from India, but found shelter in the camp of the Turkish Pasha only after he had waited five days on the east side of the Tigris. The town, says the doctor, is situated in a plain, like the town of Basel on the Rhine, but is neither so gay nor so well built. Only narrow streets, with numerous dilapidated houses, could be seen, as well as many mosques in ruins, which were quite black, but bore many *Arabic* and *Chaldaic* inscriptions, cut in stone. The most remarkable localities were the surroundings of the Turkish Pasha's camp and the bazar; he found the baths much worse than those of Tripoli and Alexandria. The town on the right bank was an open, unprotected place; but on the left bank of the Tigris it had towers and enclosure-walls, with inscriptions in golden letters one foot high. The boat-bridge was not as broad as that at Strasburg over the Rhine, but the flow of the Tigris is rapid and so obscure, dark and ugly to behold, that a look at it almost produces giddiness. The Pasha inhabits the castle of the east-town and keeps up a very strong garrison, because the possessions of the Persians begin quite near the town on the east, whilst the dominion of the Pasha is mostly confined to the side of desert Arabia. The winter in Baghdad, says the doctor, resembles the spring in his own country. In the month of

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December he saw there blooming hyacinths, narcissus and violets. Of agriculture there was but little; grain, fruits and wine were however brought in abundance from above, and the imports were the same from below. On the 2nd December Dr. Rauwolff saw 25 ships arrive, with spices and other costly goods from India, but they had taken 40 days to come up from Bosrah, which is situated at a distance of six days below Baghdad. On account of the vexatious tolls imposed upon international commerce, there by the kings of Persia and Arabia the merchants corresponded with each other by means of carrier pigeons. The dealers in spices, says Dr. Rauwolff, at that time had their stores and magazines outside the town, on the side of Ctesiphon, in the open plain, where they shelter their sacks, filled with goods, under their tents, till the caravans can depart. In these tents, says the doctor, weapons rather than merchandize are supposed to be sheltered, but the pleasant perfume of the latter, reveals its nature from a distance. The trade in precious stones, too, was at that time very flourishing, as well as that in corals, emeralds, saffron, crimson-dyes, silk-stuffs, Turkish cloth, raisins and dates packed in large bales, also in figs, almonds, &c.; Baghdad was, however, then, as it is also now, an important mart for the most beautiful horses. Hence the great caravan intercourse and merchants from all oriental countries.

Pietro Della Valle had seen Baghdad shortly before its retrocession to the Persians, in the years 1816 and 1817; he mentions nothing particularly remarkable as having fallen under his notice, but he was the first who completely refuted the opinion that this city was the same with ancient *Babylon*. He also pointed out that it is different from Seleucia and Ctesiphon, although, as he observed, the whole surrounding country appeared full of walls and bricks, lying on the ground and covered up. In his time the bazar was particularly rich in silk clothes; no doubt, because then the Persians were still very numerous. In fact, observes Della Valle, on account of the great numbers of Shyabs who still remained in Baghdad from the Persian period, the Pushas at the head of their Sunnis could proceed only with the greatest caution in any undertakings, and often the contest between the two sects broke out in open flames. At that time the district of Hilla and of the true Babel, was still governed by a Persian robber-chief, who made access to the ruins a dangerous enterprise, from which, however, the Italian noble returned successfully. He states, in a letter dated October 1616, that he had accurately examined the ruins, and caused the painter who accompanied him to make correct drawings of them, of which, however, nothing is extant except one view. Sailing down

the Tigris, he visited the ruin called by the Jews of those parts the temple of Nabuhcodonozor, but by the Moslems Ayován Kesra, and correctly declared to be the palace of Khosroes in Otesiphon. After his departure, whilst sojourning in India at Goa, he reported that the Persians, under Shah A'bbas, had again taken possession of Baghdad (1624). When Tavernier paid his visit to Baghdad in 1652, and estimated the number of its inhabitants only at 15,000, it appears to have fallen to its lowest state.

For the first more correct description of modern Baghdad we are indebted to Niebuhr (1764), who gave a plan of it and determined its position as $33^{\circ} 20' N.$ Lat., which is according to Beauchamp's observation, made in 1781, only $10''$ too little, and the difference must undoubtedly be attributed to the position of the stations where the observations were taken. Col. Rich gives $33^{\circ} 19' 40'' N.$ Lat. and $44^{\circ} 44' 45'' E.$ Long. according to Ker Porter's computation.

The narrow, dirty streets, with their high many-storeyed houses and enclosed yards, with a date tree or two, into which the rays of the vertical sun beat with double force, and necessitate the digging of subterranean apartments (Serdabs) to mitigate the heat, remain the same. In these caves, or cellars, which are about four or five feet under ground, and communicate with the rooms above them, the temperature is at least ten degrees lower. In spite of the great summer heat, the cold of winter also makes itself felt, and Niebuhr saw the water covered in the month of February with half a finger's thickness of ice, and observed that 20 persons had been frozen to death in the streets in one night. In the month of February 1783, a caravan suffered so much on its march from Aleppo to Baghdad, that one-half of their camels died, and seven Arabs, who, however, travelled half naked, perished from cold. A fall of snow had detained the caravan thirteen days on the road, and, instead of performing the journey in fifteen or twenty days, it spent fifty on the road. On the other hand, the couriers of English merchants performed the same journey in only ten days.

In Niebuhr's time the fortifications of Baghdad were strong enough to resist several sieges by Nadir Shah and to compel him to return. Afterwards, too, in 1775, says Beauchamp, they withstood during thirteen months the artillery of the Persians, by the earthworks thrown up around the city when Kerim Khan besieged, and the brave Mutsellim of Bosrah defended it, and on that occasion obtained the position of Pasha of Baghdad. In the interior of the town Niebuhr enumerates besides the many tombs to

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which pilgrimages are made, also the numerous Taqqiahs, or convents, especially of Durwaish orders, of which alone he adduces seven, possessing good incomes derived from their bigoted founders, and the tenants whereof knew how to keep the grossly ignorant people in subjection by the most absurd fables and miraculous legends. In his time the Western suburb, on account of the inundation of the Tigris, which rises sometimes 20 feet above its ordinary level, with its numerous houses, fields and gardens, was almost constantly under water, so that on this side, his plan of Baghdad remained in a very imperfect state. The bridge of boats, consisting of thirty-four, which were augmented when the water rose, and connected with each other by chains, but not fixed by anchors, was therefore so bad, that it separated into many pieces during storms or the rising of the river and frequently gave rise to accidents. He counted twenty mosques with minarets, but many smaller chapels, and about twenty-two Kháns in the town and suburbs, of which, however, only six or seven were tenanted by great merchants. Even the most advantageous position could but slightly promote trade under a Government so changing, so despotic, and so insecure. The Persian troubles, however, drove many Armenian emigrants, chiefly manufacturers and traders, to Baghdad. At that time British commerce from India was yet so unprofitable, that the East India Company had recalled its only agent from Baghdad; only one Venetian merchant was prospering. There were many Jews, but no Parsees or Banians. The Capuchin mission, which flourished in the 17th century, in Tavernier's time, had long ago been withdrawn, but two Carmelite monks, who at the same time made themselves agreeable to the rich as physicians, still pursued their calling of missionaries, not so much to convert Moslems, whereby they would have forfeited their heads, but Christian sects, especially the numerous Nestorians, to the Roman Catholic Church, wherein they are also, according to Niebuhr, said to have been successful with the great crowd. As to European physicians seeking to establish a practice, says he, they meet with disappointment, there being indeed many patients, but no payers. On this subject Beauchamp remarks that the Turks live in a very simple way, that they have no idea of prolonged medical treatment, that they hold out the hand to any European to feel the pulse and expect from him instant relief from any little complaint, but they call a doctor only in the last extremity, when it is usually too late. Obstinate fevers, during the hot season, constituted the chief diseases.

The cautious Niebuhr entirely abstains from estimating the population of Baghdad. Beauchamp, who lived there several years, after 1782, states that it is possible to ride at a slow

• pace around the whole eastern town along its outer enclosing wall in less than an hour, that its interior is in many places waste, and that the number of its inhabitants may be estimated at 100,000. The last plague (probably that of 1773) had probably carried off from 50 to 60,000 inhabitants; but as no registers of the dead are kept, this valuation can have been computed only from the number of ells of winding sheets sold by the merchants to shroud the corpses. Of such sheets an Armenian merchant had at that time sold 20,000 piastres worth (at 2 francs 8 sous each).

• At that time the city was very quiet and the bazars frequented only during the day. After 7 P. M. not a sound was heard, no visits were made, and in the evening not even at the Pasha's. Women saw each other only in the baths, where they displayed their finery. Men spent their evenings in retirement in their harems. The people of Baghdad can not conceive how Europeans can travel merely to satisfy their curiosity, and consider such men to be spies. They know nothing of duels for the sake of honour, neither of suicide from despair. Of European articles they value only watches and arms; all others appear to them quite useless. Of scientific efforts and institutions, which were formerly so grand in the city of the Khalifs, Beauchamp and Niebuhr found absolutely no trace in the city of the Turks; no book markets, as in Constantinople, Cairo and Yemen, for the purchase of manuscripts, could be discovered by Niebuhr, although formerly in this very place the most brilliant products of Arabic literature had been accumulating for ages in the splendid libraries of the Khalifs and in the Madrassehs.

• Frequent disturbances arose in former times from the vicinity of the Persians to the east, but these take place at present from the proximity of turbulent Arabs in the south and in the west, whose chief influence is exerted upon the western suburb, the Arab town, and who are not only able to counterpoise, but even sometimes to overbalance the power of the Turkish town on the east side, as well as the authority of the Pasha. Not seldom the Arabs refuse to pay tribute, which gives rise to warlike expeditions, when various tribes of the adjoining Arabs unite against their common foes, the Turks, although they are always at war with each other. Thus, in Beauchamp's time, the Kasael tribe, which predominated about Hilla, refused to pay tribute, was forced to send hostages, and its chief compelled to reside in Baghdad. On the other hand, another more powerful chief and friend of the Persians, Sheik Shaab, was master from Bushire to Bosrah, and gradually advanced more and more towards the Pashalik of Baghdad, whence the Governor of Bosrah, who had only 500 troops under his command, was appointed, whilst the Sheikh could assemble from 50 to 60,000 horsemen and possessed small vessels,

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carrying from 18 to 20 twelve-pounders with which he could sail up the Shatt-al-Arab, plunder Bosrah, and even menace Baghdad if he chose. The tribe next to Bosrah, up the Euphrates, towards Hilla, *i. e.*, that of the Montefik-Arabs, was from olden times allied to this town, and therefore frequently at feud with the Kasael tribe. When the Pasha of Baghdad in 1783 sent a couple of ships down the Tigris to attack the people of Shaab, a fight of three hours duration ensued, but the Turkish annalist said:—"Allah be praised, no Moslem was slain or wounded therein." The Sheikh of the Montefik Arabs asked from the Sheikh of the Kasael at Hilla, a free passage for his trading vessels on the Euphrates as far as Baghdad. This being refused, the cavalry of the Montefik, numbering 30,000 horses, advanced towards Hilla, but the Sheikh lost his life in this expedition. Of these and of other feuds with Persians and Arab tribes, to which, in the beginning of the present century, those with the Wahhabys must also be added, the annals of Baghdad are full, as well as of intrigues with Constantinople. It is also remarkable how, simultaneously with Beauchamp, the number of travellers in the French interest increased, Jaubert (1806), Dupré (1808) Rousseau, Olivier (1800), to whom we are indebted, as shortly afterwards to the English, for the more recent accounts of Baghdad and its surrounding country. They repeat, however, a great deal of what we knew already long ago from the Arab geographers and from the German Niebuhr.

The concourse of Europeans just mentioned must probably be ascribed to the secure Government of Suleyman Pasha (who reigned 25 years, namely, from 1777 to 1802), or rather to that of his favourite, Kiaya Ahmed, an excellent statesman, whose administration was so beneficent, that under it the population of Baghdad rose from 40,000 to double that number. Under his protection from 12 to 15,000 industrious Persians had found an asylum in Baghdad, and he aided wholesale commerce greatly. The inhabitants of Baghdad—consisting of 50,000 Arabs, and only 20,000 Turks of the degree of Yanitcharies—as well the foreign immigrants had not since 1780 enjoyed so prosperous a period as under Suleyman. The brave and meritorious Kiaya Ahmed, whom the physician Olivier had cured of a dangerous malady, was, however, treacherously murdered by another favourite, the son-in-law of the Pasha, the same Ali who succeeded in 1802 to the dignity of Pasha, after Suleyman's death.

Olivier, to whom Baghdad appeared, after his return from Persia, more like a Persian than a Turkish town, and who had found its bazars more brilliantly equipped than all his predecessors, imagined that he could, in

Baghdad in Olivier's time.

the manners and ceremonial of the people, still discover a remnant of that finer urbanity which struck him as Parisian, to be an inheritance bequeathed to the now degenerate inhabitants from times of yore, when Baghdad was the city of the Khalifs, immensely rich, full of pomp, refinement and luxury, in which the trade of the world converged. The people appeared to be more gentle than in other Turkish towns, religious fanaticism less intolerant, jealousy less cruel. The nobles seemed to be more polite and more educated, the merchants more active and more enterprising : among the ladies of the rich, the doctor found more beauty, elegance and manners ; even common women had a neat form, fine stature, regular features, oval faces ; they were loquacious, anxious for finery, painting their eye-brows, dyeing their hair, &c. ; and in the last mentioned particular the men were like the women, and no old men with white beards could be seen, all were dyed black. Wellsted also confirms these statements and adds many characteristic traits of the Baghdad people, concerning their luxury in clothes, variegated shoes, essences, rose-water, gold-ornaments, of the most grotesque taste, but of the purest metal, &c. Olivier's reports on the climate and products of Baghdad are very valuable because they are those of a naturalist and physician who had, during his longer sojourn, been able to make observations on these subjects which other travellers had but slightly touched upon. Baghdad, says he, is, on account of its position in a wide plain, permeated by winds at all times, not often exposed to epidemics, and enjoys a healthy climate. The water of the Tigris, the only beverage, is very good, rains are of rare occurrence, and the sky is mostly unclouded. The atmosphere is so dry, that even at a short distance from the river little humidity is felt, and dew never seen. If the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates Canals were better distributed and the fallow soil converted into agricultural land, no richer, more beautiful, or more blooming region could be found in the world than the neighborhood of Baghdád. The country was the cradle of astronomy, because the stars, have a brilliancy utterly unknown in Europe, and during six months of the year the people spend their nights in the open air, sleeping on the flat roofs of their houses. The marvellous aspect and brilliancy of the starry welkin must in the earliest times have induced the Chaldaeans to observe the constellations, to the advantage of agriculture and gain of science. Beauchamp boasted that he had, as Grand-Vicar of Babylon, been the first who had again built an astronomical observatory in Baghdad, in 1784, at the expense of Louis XVI, after 2,500 years from the times of the Chaldaeans, and 1000 from the period of the Khalifs, had elapsed. He had done so under the patronage of

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the celebrated astronomer Lalande, but the French revolution cut short all observations.

During the sojourn of Olivier in Baghdád the heat rose at the end of April (Floréal) to 18° Réaumur, and after that to 26°. In the beginning of June (Prairial) it rose to 30 and 31°, with a light south wind which brought locusts. In the summer months, the burning hot winds, blowing regularly from the N.-W. of Mesopotamia, over the naked soil, raised the temperature still more. At noon the thermometer showed from 33° to 35° and remained stationary till evening. Then the city was as if dead. The bazars were closed at 10 A. M. and kept so till evening; everybody retired into the serdābs, where the heat did not exceed 25° or 26°. As soon as the cool of the evening set in, the people mounted to the terraces of their houses, paid visits, dined *al fresco*, and amused themselves with music, and story-telling. About the autumnal equinox the heat abated, and the winds became variable; the south and north-winds brought coolness only when rain had fallen on the lower Euphrates, or the Median Taurus was covered with snow in the north. If there was no wind at the end of September (Vendémiaire), as was often the case, the heat became unbearable, even if it rose no higher than 28 to 30°. Until the middle of December (Frimaire) no coolness was felt in the day; the sky became clear, the winds variable, from N.-E. to N.-W., dry, fresh, but not cold; the west winds regularly brought some humidity, and occasionally the rain which they regularly convey to Mausul, reached Baghdad also. A south wind seldom blows in the end of autumn and beginning of winter, and then only for a short time, but it is never hot. Only before the middle of October (Vendémiaire) the thermometer falls gradually from 24 to 20, 18, 14°; at the end of December and beginning of January (Nivose), even in the day, down to 10, 8 or perhaps even to 5 and 4°; in the night Olivier observed as low as =0° and even—1°, on which occasions the mud-puddles in the streets were covered with a thin crust of ice. Accordingly the temperature of Baghdad is in summer much hotter than in Lower Egypt, because there the wind from the Mediterranean which blows uninterruptedly during the day, has a cooling, but here in Baghdad only a heating effect, after rising, during its passage across the barren plains of Mesopotamia, to a burning temperature. The winter of Baghdad is, on the other hand, according to Olivier, much colder than that of Lower Egypt, on account of the cold mountain winds from the north; whereas by their passage over the surface of the water, the north winds have in the Nile delta lost their cold. On account of the night frosts of Baghdad, which are

2° below the freezing point, plantains and other foreign trees, which prosper in Egypt, cannot grow. Neither date nor lemon trees are hurt by cold in Baghdad, and seem to grow better than in Egypt. The great summer heat of the day, and the freshness of the night are not injurious to the human constitution.

On the climatic relations just mentioned the products of Baghdad of course depend. These are rice, barley and wheat, but dates are the staple food. Citrons of all kinds are cultivated, but no oranges. Some of the latter, says H. Southgate, were, in 1837, raised in the private garden of the British resident, but did not prosper well. The sweet limes produced here are defective in aroma and fine taste; apricots are excellent, peaches middling, grapes bad, and figs not so good in the plain as in the adjoining hill tract. The dates of Bosrah are better than those of Baghdad, Egypt or Barbary. The white and black mulberries are exquisite, also jujubes, and Napicas (*Rhamnus napeca*) are esteemed in all gardens; Henna (*Lawsonia inermis*), the plantain, and the sugar-cane no longer grow here on account of the night frosts, but below Baghdad on the Tigris, cotton, sesame, tobacco, and, still nearer to the Persian Gulf, indigo, are advantageously cultivated. Of domestic animals the Indian bison is rare, the buffalo general, as well as the common ox, which is however not slaughtered, but utilized for turning the water-wheels. Camel flesh is nutritious, but young camels appear but seldom on the tables of Arabs in special festivals; mutton is the usual food, wild-hogs of excellent quality are plentiful on the rivers of Mesopotamia, but are not eaten by the Moslems, and are despised by the Armenians. Fowls in great numbers are raised in towns and villages, especially pigeons, and francolins (*Tetrao francolinus*, Linn.) which are wild birds, occur abundantly. Hares are very numerous on the heights of the Kurdistan mountains, but are seldom brought to market; gazelles, chased by means of falcons, are eaten only by the poor, and generally Moslems eat game but seldom, and fish just as little, although both the Euphrates and the Tigris are full of them. On the other hand, vegetables, such as beans, peas, turnips, carrots, cabbage, haricots, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, &c., are the usual food. Chestnuts and nuts, imported from the mountains of Kurdistan, are not much eaten, but the sweet acorns from the same country although their flavour is inferior to that of chestnuts, are in great favour with the Armenians. Of timber the oak, sycamore, nut, poplar and pine are mentioned, and are floated down from the Kurdistan mountains. The little furniture required is all

made of mulberry, Napeca (Rhamnus) and date tree wood ; fuel is provided by the tamarisk and willow near rivers, possibly also by acacia and lycinus bushes, but much more by camel dung and chopped straw, sometimes coated with bitumen, and rolled into lumps for the hearth.

Of manufactures Olivier saw in Baghdad only the striped silk and cotton cloths, which are there prepared chiefly from the more coarse Ghilan silk, for the use of the Arabs ; further, especially, cotton-stuffs printed with subdued designs for women, children, and the common people, also carpets, and particularly velvet for cushions, sofas, and divans, a great deal of which is also exported to Mosul, Aleppo and Damascus. Moreover, the silver and gold embroideries, as well as the parti-coloured leather wares find many purchasers in Baghdad itself. Copper vessels in abundance also are manufactured.

Trade appears to have risen in the first decade of the present century during the temporarily good administration of Suleymán Pasha, as must be concluded from the import and export lists prepared by Olivier, Dupré (1808) and others ; but the development of steam navigation on the Euphrates in recent times, makes it probable that commerce will in course of time assume larger proportions than ever.

After numerous intrigues and murders, Suleymán had, by cunning and talent, succeeded in creating
 The observations of Dupré. for himself a party among the inhabitants of Baghdad, as well as at the court of Constantinople, so that the highest dignity, of three horse-tails and the Pashalik of Baghdad, was bestowed upon him. He gave audiences to Dupré on three different occasions. This traveller made himself accurately acquainted with the pomp of his court and his administration ; he found the same cabals, hypocrisies, intrigues, cruelties, as in the seraglio of Constantinople, united to all the external pomp of an autocratic despot. His first ministers were the Kiaya, the Defterdar-Effendi (Secretary of State), the Khaznehdár (treasurer), the Kaimakan, or ministerial representative in the interior, as soon as the Pasha leaves his residence ; moreover, a crowd of Agas or Yanitcharis, of Muftis, the Ulemma, and the Qadi, just as in the first capital of the whole empire. So unlimited was the authority of the Pasha, that the commands of the Porte were usually only discussed but never obeyed, and any connection with it was a mere farce. Nor did the Sultan draw any revenues * from this, the greatest

* Olivier states that of the 4,000 purses, or 4 millions of francs due, not even an eighth reached Constantinople.

province of his empire; but only annual presents, which, together with those made to his Veziers, may have amounted to a couple of millions of piastres, brought with the greatest pomp by Tartars, who expected on their part return presents for them. The Pasha forwarded, indeed, his annual budget of the revenue of the Pashalik to the Sublime Porte, but showed at the same time how it had all been spent again to pay the troops who kept the Arabs, Persians and Wahhabys in check, to keep the bastions of the towns and forts in good condition, &c. Even the demands for troops addressed to the Pashalik of Baghdád in time of war met with the reply that the Pasha could not possibly spare any without denuding the frontier posts, and impairing the security of the empire. In spite of all this the extravagance of the Pasha of Baghdád surpassed that of all the others. The servants of the house, with pages, eunuchs, &c., amounted to 600, the body-guard to 800 persons, the fusiliers of the palace numbered 600, and for each excursion or hunting party an escort of 3,000 men was required. The Pasha himself had twenty Peyks—axe-bearers, due only to the Sultán—to attend on his person. Besides household troops, of which he had 5,000 in his pay, his subordinate smaller Pashas of Kurdistan were obliged to furnish 8,000, those of Suleymaniah 4,000, of Koi-Sanjak 2,500, and of Zako 1,500 men, whilst the towns of Kurkuk, Arbil, Altun Kupri sent 3,000 more, Mardin 2,000, and the subject Arab tribes 20,000, so that his forces amounted at that time to the considerable number of 37,000 men.

The extent of the Pashalik of Baghdad equalled a considerable kingdom, bounded on the North by the Pashaliks of Amadia and Diarbekr, on the East by Persia and the Persian Gulf, on the West by Orfa, Bir, Palmyra and desert Arabia. Bosrah was only a province dependent on Baghdad. Neither the area nor the population could be accurately estimated.

The estimate of the population of the capital agreed tolerably well with that of Rousseau and Olivier. Dupré ascertained that the plague of 1773 had carried off one-third of the inhabitants. Those who survived amounted to 76,000 individuals in 15,222 families, among which six were European, six Greek, six Syriac, 90 Chaldaic, 112 Armenians, 2,000 Jewish, and 13,000 Moslem, namely, Arabs, Turks and Persians.

Among the latter, especially the nobles and great merchants, much luxury in dress prevailed; they wore splendid Indian cloths and Kashmir shawls; the women not confined in harems were of Arab descent, with an olive complexion, coarse features, broad shoulders, tattooed on the arms, and wearing large gold-rings in their noses and on their legs. Only a third of the inhabitants belonged to the dominant sect of the Sunnis; three-fourths were Shyáhs debarred from public worship in the mosques, but recouped

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their loss by pilgrimages to their holy tombs. Those who merely passed through Baghdad, and obtained the title of Kerbelayi (as the pilgrims to Mekkah obtain that of Haji) are said to have annually amounted to from 15 to 20,000, and must always have somewhat influenced the commerce of Baghdád through which they passed. Dupré found Baghdád to be that portion of the Turkish empire where Christians and Jews are exposed to the fewest insults; they were even allowed to put on yellow shoes, a privilege denied to them in every other part of the Turkish dominions. Adults paid a capitation tax of 110 Para (90 Para = 1 Piastre = 90 centimes French) which was 15 piastres in the Kurdistan districts. The Capauchins still had a Catholic chapel and *one* monk in their convent, who had, however, no influence in the Oriental Catholic Church. The diocese of the patriarch of El-Kosh extended as far as the Chaldæans of Baghdád.

With reference to the climate the statements of Dupré agree with those of Olivier, but according to him the thermometer in Baghdád sometimes rises higher than Olivier stated; namely, as high as 38 and even $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Réaumur. Ice is said to occur in winter, but never snow, and the boil-disease is, as in Aleppo, Mardin, &c., frequent, not exactly lethal, but extremely troublesome. The missionary, Southgate, also observed that eruptions on the face which leave scars behind are quite common, so that even foreigners who live there for years, but seldom escape them. The various observers also agree that Baghdád would be the finest garden in the world, if the water of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Diala, and of the numberless canals, were to be distributed by irrigation over the fertile soil, which, although at present mostly fallow on account of the laziness, indifference, and ignorance of the Government, as well as of the people, nevertheless furnishes, in dates, rice, tobacco, cotton, silk and honey, a yearly export of about 400,000 piastres, a sum which might very easily be quadrupled. Dupré was of opinion that indigo also and the sugar-cane would prosper, but Olivier doubted it.

The Pasha draws indirectly, in silver taxes, or in natural produce, *one-fifth* of the produce of every kind of industry, indirectly because the estates and villages are farmed out to individuals, who after having paid their rent, exert their right of extortion upon the cultivator, who can never obtain justice, and is moreover compelled to pay to the Government, also the land tax, Miri. He must likewise separately purchase the right of using water for irrigation, and the dry, often rainless, spring prematurely parches up the harvests.

Dupré assures us that in his time the trade of Baghdád was, in spite of every vexation, of very great importance, as appeared sufficiently from the wealth of the merchants of all nations settled there, and

The Commerce of Baghdad.

• from the daily arrivals of Persian, Arab, and Syrian caravans, as well as the considerable interchange of money with Aleppo, Damascus, Constantinople, Ispahan, Tabriz, Tiflis, Erzerum and other commercial towns. The largest exports took place *via* Bosrah by water to India, in English as well as Arab vessels, as far as Bombay, and by the same route European goods were imported through the Persian Gulf. These arrived, however, also by two other ways, namely, from Constantinople *via* Aleppo, and from Astrakhan across the Caspian Sea. • The chief imports were from Syria by caravans, on camels, horses and mules. The latter carried, on an average 120 okkaks, but a camel 240. Heavy goods from Aleppo and Damascus had to pay a freight of 85 piastres per mule-load, textile fabrics, &c., 100 piastres. When the Aleppo caravans pass through Mesopotamia, the cost of transport is, on account of the tolls, augmented by 20 or 25 per cent. The freight for one hundredweight (at 180 okkaks) from Constantinople to Baghdad amounts to 253 piasters. The costliest articles, such as shawls, light silk stuffs of Guzerat, satins, pearls, &c., were usually taken along by the Tartars, or official couriers of the Porte, at the rate of ten to twelve piasters per okkah. These couriers with despatches performed the journey from Baghdad to Constantinople usually in fifteen or twenty days, but in later times (1837) even in twelve days. At present many kinds of goods, and especially letters, are never sent the whole way by land, but to Beyrut and a few other ports, whence the mail-steamers rapidly take them to Constantinople. The communication between Bosrah and Baghdad has also enormously improved, although the trade is not flourishing enough to warrant more than the employment of a very small number of steamers between the two towns.

• After thirty years of the present century had elapsed, Baghdad presented a striking example to what state of misery a flourishing town can be reduced by the plague and an apathetic Government. The most brilliant period of new Baghdad, which set in after the fall of Napoleon I. and lasted for a number of years, came to a sudden end by the terrible plague of 1831, a scourge which brought in its train devastation, famine, misery, and troubles of every kind. We shall here epitomize the accounts of various travellers of the period before, during, and after the plague, as given by McKinnear (1812), Buckingham (1816), Kerr Porter (1818), G. Keppel (1824), J. H. Stocqueler (1831), B. Fraser (1834), H. Southgate (1837), Wellsted (1840), and other eye-witnesses :—

Buckingham and Kerr Porter, after Kinneir, were the first travellers who gave complete descriptions of the Pashalik of

Baghdád under circumstances most favourable for personal observation, and their successors have more or less utilized them as sources. At that time Assad Pasha, and after him Daud Pasha, was the Governor; the post of British Resident was held by Col. Rich, who, with his secretary, Belino, the antiquarian, took great interest in the monuments on the Euphrates. Assad Pasha was, after a period of Mameluke dominion, when one slave after another obtained the government, the first Pasha who had been born in Baghdád, although his own father Suleymán Pasha was by birth a Georgian, and had first to be made a Moslem like all the others. His body-guard consisted of brave, tall Georgians; the wives of the nobles of Baghdád were all Georgians, and only orthodox believers enjoyed the privilege of possessing fair female slaves of this kind whom they raised to the rank of spouses: the other sects were allowed to keep and to marry only black slave-girls. Assad was made Pasha by the acclamation of popular favour, and the Porte was obliged to confirm him in his position. The nominal frontiers of the Pashalik extended from Bosrah to Mardin, and from Kurdistan and Persia, as far as Palestine and Arabia; Assad Pasha was already quite independent of Constantinople, and able by his military power, to maintain himself so. Considering the arbitrariness of a despotic government, the poverty of the town was still most apparent, in spite of the wealth of single individuals. Commerce had, however, increased, especially through British intercourse. Formerly only two, but now six, British vessels arrived annually with Indian produce, besides many Arab ships, because Assad Pasha had lowered the custom house duties. Many Tigris boats sailed direct to Baghdád, instead of landing at Feluja or Hillah, because the banks of the Euphrates had been made insecure by Arab robbers, or rebellious tribes. At that time the province of Baghdád was, of all the others in the Turkish empire, that in which commerce was the freest, and the tolls the lowest. The Pasha, however, was so poor, that he could not pay his Georgian troops, and had to raise loans among the merchants. The British and the French consulate appear at that time to have greatly developed the trade of their nations.

The British consulate had been established under Col. Rich in a magnificent style, in order to represent the dignity of the East India Company and of the British nation. Its income was considerable; the residency consisted of numerous buildings which enclosed two large court yards, had numerous apartments fronting the Tigris, with verandahs, terraces for sleeping, places under the open sky, cellars and serdabs against the heat, a riding school, stables, and offices, with a numerous train of servants and many attachés; a surgeon, a secretary, several interpreters, a number

of Yanitcharis, stable-boys, and servants, each with his own special function, according to the Indian fashion, and comprising the most varied nationalities, such as Turks, Arabs, Georgians, Persians and Hindus. A company of Sepoys formed the body-guard, with a military band; a large stately yacht, in charge of an Indian Serang and his laskars, was always at hand for excursions, and the stable contained the most excellent horses; in short, every thing was calculated to make an impression, so that Col. Rich was the most important personage next to the Pasha, and his advice was of greater influence than that of the Pasha's own council.

The French consulate, although of a less imposing character, was presided over by the Consul-General Vigoroux, who also had his attachés, dragomans and servants. He protected the Christian convent, with its two Carmelite monks, who strove to unite the scanty remnants of the various oriental sects, namely, the Greek, the Syriac and the Chaldee, to the Roman Catholic Church, but produced, according to Buckingham's statement, a great deal of misunderstanding and many quarrels.

The extraordinary comforts within the British Residency, says Buckingham, made the extremes of temperature of Baghdád endurable. Those, however, who had become accustomed to the climate of Bengal, longed during the three hottest summer-months—June, July, August, to be there again.

The celebrated painter, Kerr Porter, two years afterwards, in October 1818, after his sojourn in Persia, on his home-journey, paid a visit to Baghdád, where he met with a hospitable welcome at the British Residency. No wonder that on his arrival in Baghdád from the sober regions of Persia, the spirited artist imagined he had been transported into the capital of Harun-ur-Rashid with its Thousand and one Nights, and that his description of Baghdád, embracing scarcely anything besides the contrasts between it and Persia, written by so skilled a hand, cannot fail to be instructive. The great difference between the people of Baghdád and of Persia struck him forcibly. The latter wore simple, tightly fitting clothes, with a dirk in the girdle and a black cap on the head; whilst the inhabitants of Baghdád walked about in long flowing garments, with their high turbans splendidly folded, the neck and breast enveloped with costly shawls, and richly ornamented poniards in their belts. Such costumes could be seen in all the streets of Baghdád; pride and love of display shone forth from the turbans of all sizes and forms, as well as from the pelisses, the silk jackets and robes, the garments of satin, or of red, blue and yellow cloth, all mixed up in great variety. In comparison with this luxury of dress, the Persian appears destitute and penurious, in spite of the care he usually bestows on his black beard. In spite, however, of the

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fortifications, and of the numerous shops, the poverty of the inhabitants and the desolate aspect of the town, harmonize with the surrounding decay. Tombs cover a great portion of both banks of the river; in the middle of this vast cemetery, the dilapidated mausoleum of Zobeidah, the spouse of Harun-ur-Rashid, and former benefactress of the town, rises in the shape of a tasteless octagonal pyramid, affording an extensive view of the apparently boundless desert, and the tower of Aker-Kuff in the N.-W. The dark-grey town, with its windowless narrow streets and its irregular flat roofs or terraces on both sides of the river, behind which only here and there the cupola of a mosque, a minaret, or a ruin of the very high town-wall with its towers, peeps out, would only complete the melancholy aspect, if it were not for the lovely green of the gardens and trees which cheer up a great portion of the dilapidated and empty interior of the town.

Daud Pasha, formerly a Christian and slave from Tiflis, but purchased for the body-guard of Baghdád, became a Moslem, and rose by his energy and talent to the dignity of a Pasha, with three horse-tails (in 1817). He was in Ker Porter's time at the head of the administration. That excellent observer, G. Keppel, (1824) took more interest in the Babylonian antiquities than in the condition of the town of Baghdád, and Stocqueler never reached it, being frightened away in the spring of 1831 by the plague which raged there; he returned to Bosrah, where also Colonel Taylor the successor of Colonel Rich, who died of cholera in 1822, had fled from the Residency of Baghdád. Stocqueler could only report that Daud Pasha—who with the aid of French and English officers had organized a considerable body of troops, and also made an attempt to introduce steam navigation on the Euphrates—was in full opposition against the Sublime Porte. When, during the Turko-Russian War of 1827, the Porte was greatly distressed for money, orders were sent to Daud Pasha for 7,000 purses. He endeavoured to get rid of the importunities of the Sultan by occasionally despatching small sums to Constantinople, and when the Kapiji (chamberlain) arrived with new requisitions, he had him strangled. Now Ali Pasha of Aleppo was sent with troops to make him disgorge the treasures he had accumulated by promoting the commerce of Baghdád; to this trouble also the plague and revolts were added, and he saved his head only by bribery.

J. Baillie Fraser, who had been long known in Persia as an excellent observer, quite at home in the east, and was at Baghdád, immediately after the plague and the fall of

Baghdád ruined by the plague.

Daud, during the time of his successor, Ali Pasha's cruel rule, is the only person who gives us any information about the horrible calamity which had overtaken that town.

Coming from the North-West by the Mosul road, Fraser saw the minarets of Baghdád at a great distance beyond the wide plains along the Tigris for the first time at sunset. The soil appeared to be of the most fertile kind, but irrigation was wanting, and the whilom garden of Babylonia produced at present only bitter thorns, salty soda-plants for camel-fodder. The danger of being plundered by the rebellious Arabs who were at feud with the Pasha, was great even at the gates of the capital, but it was successfully eluded, and the hospitable British Residency of Colonel Taylor reached. Every one who has undergone similar experiences, will easily appreciate the feelings of tranquillity, comfort and peace which Fraser enjoyed after long privations. Under his windows he now saw the classic Tigris enlivened with boats and rafts, and the bridge of boats by crowds of people. The departed glories of ancient Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Madain, and of the abode of the Khalifs, still appeared to lend a kind of weak reflex to the few cupolas and prominent edifices on the banks of the Tigris; and to Fraser, who arrived from thoroughly ruined Persia, Baghdád presented, in spite of its decay, an imposing spectacle. In the burnt, prominently bright yellow, and not unpleasant looking bricks of the high town-walls, a trace of Babylonian art seemed still to linger; the round, strong towers, with cannon at their angles, can nowhere be seen on the wretched grey earth bulwarks of Persian towns, and although the walls of Baghdád were by no means whole, and their gates had fallen to pieces, they were, even in that state, better and less gloomy than those of Persia. Even the streets of the town, though narrow, often only from nine to ten feet broad, unpaved and muddy, are nevertheless not such wretched heaps of ruins, says Fraser, as those of Persian towns. At any rate the houses are not mere hovels and dens, as there; they have even good doors, strengthened with iron, and their interior is often quite pleasing. Towards the streets they have many balconies, and verandahs where smokers sit, and occasionally they are interspersed with foliage and palm-trees, reminding one of other countries, such as India or Madeira, which is not possible in any Persian town. The Tigris, too, must be considered an imposing river with its bridge of boats—brilliant in bright star-light—full of life during the day, owing to the uninterrupted passage of small and large caravans from Persia to Arabia, and of horses, mules, camels, porters, riders from the Tigris to the Euphrates, between Syria, Babylonia and the Persian Gulf. The river-banks along the town, moreover,

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presented a not uninteresting, and often a picturesque aspect, on account of the variety of the edifices and the gardens with their verdure, the eye being able to take in easily both banks, as the river is not very broad. The bazars, which are so decayed, so poorly planned, so meagrely occupied, and so badly kept up, are nevertheless lively enough with their costumes, in contrast with those of Persia; and even the numerous public resorts, with their coffee-houses, full of men smoking, drinking, playing, bargaining, and where also buffoons amuse the guests, seem to impart more life, although in these same places of recreation public executions take place, horse-sales are held, and other transactions demanding publicity may be witnessed.

But the great decay, from which this city has not recovered even in our times, commenced with the years 1830-1, when a series of calamities, *plague, inundation* and *famine* rapidly succeeded each other. The inhabitants either died, or scattered themselves over the wide country, the walls together with the houses fell down in various parts of the town, and the fall of Daud Pasha and the annihilation of his faction by the cruel tyranny of his enemies under the government of Ali Pasha, completed the misery of this Turkish town. Before the plague the population of Baghdád was estimated at certainly not less than 1,50,000 souls, and after it, in Fraser's time, at not more than 80,000, whilst others give only the half of the last mentioned number.

Towards the end of 1830 the foes of Daud Pasha in Stambul triumphed and he was to be deposed, but he could still defy the Porte with his well disciplined troops. Then the plague made its appearance in Baghdád and soon gave an unexpected turn to politics. Already, in November 1830, cases of the plague manifested themselves in Baghdád in the Jewish quarter, but its presence was, as usual, kept secret, although it had already devastated the coasts of the Black Sea, and the adjoining districts of Persia. From village to village, says Wellsted, who was at that time in Baghdad, the plague advanced gradually, like a burning stream of lava. All the endeavours of the British Resident to induce the Pasha to establish a quarantine, or to take some measures of precaution, proved futile, because the Mullahs had declared that such proceedings would be *against the word and the contents of the Qurán*. But the scourge began to rage only in March of the year 1831, when a general panic seized the people. At the end of March also Colonel Taylor closed the British Residency; everybody isolated and provided himself with food, and whatever was needed from without was pulled in in baskets, after being previously dipped in water, taken hold of with iron

tongs and fumigated before use. Cats, however, conveyed the plague from roof to roof, and it was impossible to restrain the servants from visiting their sick relatives or aiding the dying. In the Residency also the first sepoy of the guard died on the 10th of the month and four others fell sick. In the town, especially the eastern part of it, where the Pasha, all the notables and the wealthy dwelt, 7,000 victims had already fallen, and many more in the other, the western half. At the same time the Tigris overflowed its banks; it had broken through the dams above, the whole low-country was flooded, the water penetrated into the town itself, where it demolished and swept away 2,000 of the wretched houses.

To this misery of disease and inundation, were added the incursions of prowling Arabs, who crowded from all sides around Baghdád to rob and to kill the unhappy fugitives. The yacht and barques of Colonel Taylor, which had brought him from Bosrah to Baghdád, were anchored before his house. There was no possibility of escape except by water, and Colonel Taylor invited the missionary Groves to embark with him to avoid the terrible calamity, and to withdraw to a country-house in Bosrah. Mr. Groves, however, refused the offer, and remained with the Christian Mission, which consisted of about a dozen persons with teachers and pupils, and an Armenian school-master. The Resident left Baghdád on the 12th April, but the Missionary remained at his post, and during that period of terror continued his journal, from which the subjoined information on the state of Baghdád has been taken. The intrepid Wellsted also remained in the town and walked about as before; all the natives who could run away did so, except the most determined fatalists, and the Christians, who also remained, shut up their houses. The Courts of Justice were at a standstill and empty; bands of thieves and robbers became more and more daring, they moved from house to house, killed their inhabitants, and plundered without meeting with any resistance.

Now every day from 1,000 to 1,800 persons died; but from the 16th to the 21st April 2,000 died *per diem*; the streets had already become depopulated. On the 21st the water of the Tigris penetrated into the cellars of the Residency. Many children who had lost their parents, roamed about the streets in a forlorn state; and hundreds of sucking babes lay about abandoned; in many places Groves beheld from eight to ten such infants: they communicated the germs of the plague to the merciful women who took them into their arms. On the 24th, 30,000 dead bodies were counted of persons who had perished within the town; of twenty sick persons not one recovered. On the 25th April the water broke down

the wall of the Residency, and of all the servants only one was still alive. There was no longer any cotton-cloth for shrouding the corpses. It was said that up to the 26th April, 5,000 persons had died in the Serai, but Groves states that certainly 4,000 had been carried off by the plague, and that scarcely 60,000 of the former inhabitants of the town remained alive. Afterwards, in 1837, H. Southgate, during his sojourn, estimated their number at not more than 40,000. By this time the Tigris had softened also the town walls and they fell down in many places; the whole Jewish quarter was transmuted into a lake, and 200 Jews were drowned. On the 27th the whole town was under water; 7,000 houses had fallen in, burying many persons, and 15,000 persons, healthy and sick, are said to have met their death in the flood. This evil was, however, small in comparison with the terrible plague, although the morasses left by the retiring waters gave rise to new calamities. Then a great famine made itself felt, and persons who had formerly been well off, now begged for bread. The Pasha in his desolate Serai was every night in danger of being crushed by the walls which still continued to fall. He wished to flee in boats, but no oarsmen could any longer be found: of his Georgian body-guard only four men were still alive. People could no longer think of burying the corpses, and they were simply thrown out of the windows into the water. The Pasha was never loved, says Groves, but now he was also no longer feared; he had sunk into total helplessness. The missionary Groves remained untouched by the plague, but five of his teachers in the Mission-school died, and of the eighteen sepoy and servants left in the Residency, all died except two.

A large caravan, which had left Baghdád before the eruption of the disease, to travel to Damascus, already carried with it the germs of the plague and met the inundation. Cut off like an island by the water, it was compelled to rest for three weeks on a hill, which became its cemetery. Of a second caravan with 2,000 persons, which had set out for Hamadan, one-half were attacked by the plague and were left dead on the road. At every stage from 50 to 60 corpses had to be buried. Many of the unhappy wretches who could still pick themselves up were plundered by robbers, and many fell dead from their animals. Those who had attempted to escape from Baghdád when it was too late, were intercepted in all directions by the inundations, and, taking refuge on elevated spots, perished miserably of hunger and cold, although secure from the water. The survivors even among these were unmercifully plundered by the Bedouins. The silence of death reigned in Baghdád, Mollahs

- no longer proclaimed the hours of prayer from the minarets, all lamentations and funeral processions had ceased nobody mourned any more for the dead.

At last in the beginning of May the waters began to abate ; it again became possible to bring from the right side of the town a little rice for sale to feed those left ; soup could again be cooked with wood, because the monopolists who had alone traded formerly in it, had all died out. With the 4th May and the return of fair weather, the number of the dying decreased, and that of the recovering augmented. For the first time the calls of water-sellers were again heard, and prayers were shouted down from the minarets. On the 7th, however, the plague made its appearance at last in the house of the Missionary whose wife and child died of it, with two school-masters, one of whom had already buried forty of his forty-four relatives. Of 130 houses in the Armenian quarter, in twenty-seven only did any one still remain alive ; one of the quarters of Baghdád had become totally depopulated. Sayyid Ibrahim, the only surviving servant of Col. Taylor, had buried 13 members of his family, of which he alone was left alive.

In other parts of the Pashalik, too, the mortality had been very great ; of the 10,000 inhabitants of Hillah but few survived. Of the population of Baghdád two-thirds are said to have died, and their number was estimated at 100,000. Wellsted even asserts that the population of Baghdád on that occasion fell to 20,000. The same epidemic raged with equal fierceness in the whole of Persia ; Kermanshab, Hamadun, and the whole of Kurdistan also had been deprived of the greater portion of their inhabitants. The same plague depopulated Mazanderán, Asterabad, Resht, Lahiján, &c., and in the whole of Ghilan only one-fifth of the inhabitants remained alive.

With the rising summer heat the plague soon disappeared from Baghdád, and on the 26th May not a single case occurred in the town. When the Missionary now opened his desolate house, the aspect of the entirely depopulated city was terrible. Houses still continued to fall, all the merchants and artizans were dead. The famine, however, lasted long after the plague and the exsiccation of the district ; all the surrounding villages had been annihilated by the calamity, and misery was as great in Bosrah as anywhere else. In a despotic government like this, which had taken no precautions or measures to avert, or at least to mitigate physical evil, the consequences which it entailed upon political relations were not less dreadful. The military power of Daud Pasha, as well as his whole authority, had vanished ; his only support, Colonel Taylor, was

no longer by his side; his troops, organized in the European manner, had perished to a man; his fortifications had tumbled down, his palace he had been obliged to leave for fear of being buried under its ruins. He was rebellious, and his rival Ali Pasha of Aleppo had already been appointed Pasha of Baghdad, but, in order to take possession of it, needed the support of the Pasha of Mausul, and of the Sheikh of the Jerboah Arabs. Thus, as the Turkish army were lying in wait on the north frontier of the Pashalik, now the moment had arrived to surprise the foe, and to besiege Baghdád. This was done, and a few months afterwards the city, in spite of the bravery of the few yet remaining Mamelukes of Daud Pasha, fell, by treachery into the power of Ali. Daud Pasha saved his life only by giving up his treasures and by bribery; and was allowed to withdraw into private life to Constantinople.

The new Pasha made the evil worse, he oppressed the trade of Baghdád, which was beginning to recover, with heavy taxes. The unfortunate impoverished country people were entirely abandoned to the rapacity of his officials; Bedouins swarmed on all sides of the capital, like birds of prey gathering around their fallen booty; there was no longer any exertion, the whole country was in a state of misery and terror; even the plague had not yet totally disappeared, and still claimed its victims from time to time; for Wellsted, who left the town in the spring to travel to Damascus, reports that, after his return to Baghdád, the plague had not yet entirely disappeared, and that daily 500 persons were dying of it. Thus Fraser, who found the town in 1834 still in ruins, observed here and there some houses yet standing out isolated like phantoms. Many localities had become hollowed out and depressed by the scour of the waters; all the yet standing houses were full of crevices; two-thirds of the eastern half of the town no longer contained any habitable dwellings, and even the new Pasha was obliged to build one for himself. On the west side of the Tigris the gardens and luxurious country-houses of the rich inhabitants of Baghdád had all disappeared; all round only the desert, studded with the tents of Arabs who watched their flocks, could be seen.

The relations of Baghdád with the Arabs completed this sad picture. The Jerboah tribe had been received in the Upper Mesopotamian portion of the Pashalik to ward off the other more troublesome predatory tribes, and had supported the military operations of Ali Pasha before Baghdád. But now, when he had attained his end, they demanded rewards, which he by no means intended to grant. Thereon they withdrew at first to Upper Mesopotamia, where they plundered every caravan they could, and

then returned to Baghdád, which they formally blockaded during three months, by closing every access to it. Ali Pasha could oppose no troops to them, and they were forced to return to their homes only by their own necessities, but they threatened to come again. In his trouble and distress Ali Pasha now invoked the aid of the Anizeh, i. e., the Arabs of the west side, to counterpoise the power of the Jerboah, among whom he also sowed dissensions by endeavouring to divide them and proclaiming a youth of them, by name Shlans, to be their Sheikh, although the majority remained faithful to their old Sheikh Suffud. The Anizeh, who coveted the rich pasturing grounds of the Jerboah, arrived with 35,000 men to aid the Pasha, but, as this happened just when Sheikh Suffud had retired and made over his authority to the young Sheikh Shlans, the Pasha informed the Anizeh that he no longer stood in need of their help. They, however, who had come from a long distance, insisted on the fulfilment of his promise, and took possession of the luxuriant pastures around Baghdád. Ali Pasha now invited Sheikh Shlans to aid him against the Anizeh. He came, and even his foe, old Sheikh Suffud, sent him 2,000 combatants, because the honour of the whole Jerboah tribe was at stake. The Anizeh were, however, victorious; they defeated the Pasha with his Sheikh Shlans in several skirmishes, and were restrained only by the respect they entertained for the Sultan, from annihilating the Nizam-troops organized on the European model, but they humbled the power of the Jerboah and cut their young Sheikh to pieces. This was the state of Baghdád in Fraser's time, when the town was also tolerably full of refugees, who, being terrified by the savage Anizeh, had found an asylum within its deserted walls.

At that time, however, there was no security even within the walls of Baghdád, and the Anizeh continued their blockade. Fraser desired to visit the adjacent ruins of Aker Kuf, which were considered to be the ancient Accad of Nimrod (Gen. X—10). There, however, the Anizeh had established their head-quarters, and they dominated all the roads between the Euphrates and the Tigris, so that nobody could travel even as far as Hillah. Even in localities not occupied by them, other Arab brigands plundered in the name of the Anizeh and spread universal terror through the plundered and persecuted travellers, who returned naked to the town. Ali Pasha resorted to his old stratagem of negotiating with the enemy, and at the same time allured another tribe, the Zobeid Arabs, by making them great promises, if they would assist him. The case of poor pilgrims and travellers was the most pitiable, because the worst robbers and murderers were sheltered in the sanctuaries, so that, for instance, the pilgrims

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to Kerbela fell a certain booty into these dens of cut-throats which were altogether beyond the jurisdiction of the Pasha. The whole of Kerbela was in rebellion, a band of robbers had there having become so numerous and strong, that it put to flight a body of troops sent by the Pasha to disperse it. An Indian Nawab from the Carnatic, who had, with his family and retinue arrived as a pious pilgrim in Kerbela, succumbed amid the general confusion, which was further augmented by the death of Fath Ali Shah of Persia, and the troubles of succession to the throne, which it occasioned.

Even the servants of the Pasha were at that time plundered in Baghdád by the Arabs. This insecurity was ascribed to the presence of the Ageil tribe of Arabs, a portion of which dwelt within the town, Suleymán Pasha having about 60 years before established a colony of them there, and invested them with the privilege of escorting caravans between Baghdád, Aleppo and Damascus. Their original home was Nejd in Central Arabia, but they had become powerful in Baghdád, protected every robber and murderer, and tyrannised over the enfeebled town. Ali Pasha became so enraged with this tribe, that he ordered the whole of it to vacate the town with the Sheikh; the Ageil resisted, but after the skirmishes had lasted for several days, were at last compelled to quit the town. This took place just at the moment when the Zobeid Arabs, whom the Pasha had called to his aid, arrived at the gates of Baghdád; but they had already long before been on bad terms with the Ageil. B. Fraser who paid a visit to the camp of the Zobeid before the town, states that he had never beheld savage hordes like these among Moslems. They were all tall and emaciated, with long, dishevelled hair, and faces greedy for prey; their manners were, however, superior in every respect to those of ordinary Fellahs (cultivators,) and such as can be found only among genuine Bedouins (free dwellers of the desert.) On being asked by Fraser, who wished to pay a visit to their desert, how he and his might fare, and whether he would not be plundered, they were shocked at the insinuation, placed their hands on their eyes and heads, says Fraser, and swore that he would be as precious to them as the limbs of their own bodies. It was winter, and the weather cold; but the Zobeid had no tents, and were stretched between their horses, wrapped in their Abas (cloaks) on the ground, like black bundles. Most of them had sabres with dirks in their belts; several had iron-maces, or herbahs, or javelins, likewise of iron, and from five to six feet long, for throwing. At their saddles shorter herbahs were suspended, about six on each side, which they

projected with great force and dexterity. They carried also iron hammers, and sticks with hooks of iron, with which they could lift anything from the ground without dismounting. But few had matchlocks, and the chief arm was the spear, a whole forest of which was stuck into the ground. Their horses were bad, small and lean. To the question why they had no good horses, their reply was:—"When we need them we take them from the Anizeh. The enmity between the two tribes originated in horse-lifting. Meanwhile the Anizeh had retired, and the Zobeid abandoned themselves to unrestricted enjoyment; their Sheikh and his people were feasted in Baghdád, and invited every evening to another house where all got drunk, and the Pasha at their head. The protection of the Zobeid was utilized by Fraser in his excursion into the deserted lower Jezireh, or Mesopotamia.

We shall conclude with a few remarks on the various sects of Baghdád concerning which the American missionary writing in 1837 gives us complete information, only a small portion of which will be sufficient for our purpose.

Conclusion : Various sects and religions.

Not only has the splendour of former times departed from Baghdád, but even the later Turkish religious institutions have mostly disappeared, and nothing remains except the nonsensical antics of the fanatic and most ignorant *Durwaish orders*. The fifty mosques of earlier times are mostly in ruins, and their revenues are drawn by the Government, or swallowed by covetous Pashas. Of the *Madrassehs*, or schools of the Qorán, only the names remain, and a single professorship, which is kept up by the Pasha, who draws all the other salaries for his own benefit. There are no teachers, or continuous instruction, the scholarships, liberally endowed in former times, are no longer enjoyed by any students, and even if the single professor one day delivers a lecture on the Qorán, many days without any again follow it; laziness and general ignorance prevailed so much, that in Southgate's time, only about six men in the whole of Baghdád had been declared capable of imparting instruction in the sciences relating to the Qorán. Those who here and there still enjoyed the benefits of the *Madrassehs*, dwelt within and without the town, where they pursued their avocations, and only now and then paid a visit for an hour to the *Madrasseh*, in order not to forfeit their claims.

Southgate endeavoured here to obtain more accurate information regarding the four principal sects of the Sunnis, because he imagined, that, in the seat of their origin, he could obtain a better knowledge of their differences than in the western countries of Turkey, where the majority of the population belong

to the Hanifi sect. The number of the adherents of *Malik* is but small in Baghdád, they are all Arabs who have settled there from Nejd. Most of the Kurd race who settled in the town are Sunnis of the *Shafi* sect, which also occurs. But few of the Baghdád people remained the adherents of the once celebrated *Hanbal*; in this respect the expectation of Southgate was mostly disappointed.

The *Shya'hs* of Baghdád are very numerous, especially among the Persians, and also included many Arabs, who have been from the very beginning zealous followers of A'li. They have their mosque and also a spiritual legate, who is the protector of their sacred places of pilgrimage in Baghdád, such as the tomb of the Emám Musa A'li Kázem, as well as of the sepulchres of A'li and Husseyn at Kerbela, near Kufa, which place is as sacred to them as Mekkah to the Sunnis. The treasures of the sepulchres, though partly robbed already by the Wahhabys and by the Pashas of Baghdád, who afterwards on the pretence of "preventing a similar calamity," forcibly carried off what precious articles yet remained, without returning them again to the sanctuaries, were again and again replaced by the zeal of pious pilgrims, it being the highest aim of all *Shya'hs* to die in Kerbela, or to get at least their corpses conveyed there, to repose near the holy grave in consecrated ground. Caravans, with the corpses of *Shya'hs*, packed in strong coffins, are frequently arriving in Kerbela, not merely from Persia, but even from India. Rich pilgrims to Kerbela are not only often mulcted of large sums by the Turks, but also plundered by the Arabs for the right of passing through their territories to the holy city.

The predominance of the numerous *Durwaish* orders, already mentioned by Niebuhr, subsists even at the present time, although the Ulemma and the educated Moslems despise their repugnant caricatures, extravagant farces and juggler-tricks. G. Keppel paid a visit to the convent of the Kalendar *Durwaishes* in the west-town, which is said to have been founded by Harún-ur-Rashid and to bear the name of the first member of the order, whose name was Kalendar. He calls them hordes of vagabonds roaming as mendicants through the whole east, leading the most unbridled and debauchéd lives on the pretence of becoming dead to the world in their monasteries, and abdicating all its vanities. Their Sheikh, sitting on a tiger-skin, surrounded with all kinds of arms, ostrich-eggs, vases, and other gifts of the faithful, Keppel found to be a most cunning man of the world. In public no *Durwaish* resents an insult, but accepts even blows with the exclamation, "Let Allah's will be done." On the neck they wear onyx stones for talismans,

According to Southgate's statements there were in Baghdád only two convents of Durwaishes—Takiahs, whose inhabitants are monks called Durwaishes, in contradistinction to hermits called Záheds—but many others who, although registered as such, pursue other avocations, only sometimes attend the ceremonies of the *whirling*, the *howling*, and other Durwaishes, as the laity do in other towns, and even in Constantinople. Their fury in shouting prayers often ends with grunting, and falling down from exhaustion; they inflict wounds on their own bodies—like the Gurzmár Faqirs of India. The mob admire their miraculous tricks, with which they sometimes also attain political objects, and praise the apparent lunatics as inspired saints. They live on alms and deceit.

Of other religious sects, the Jews are, after the Muhammadans, the most numerous; they do not live in misery, as in Persia. In Baghdád the richest merchants are Jews, they are the first bankers in the bazárs and Kháns; they possess three synagogues, and inhabit a special quarter, where naturally also great poverty occurs by the side of wealth. They have, however, no beggars, and maintain a close connection whereby they support each other; they boast of being the descendants of the ten tribes of the captivity, and call each other brothers. Their physiognomy is said not to be characteristically Jewish. Before the plague their number was, according to Wellsted, said to amount to 7,000, but since that time it has again increased enormously. We have already seen above, that in the time of Benjamin of Tudela they had their own patriarch, and that important office still exists, and its incumbent, who is the chief of the Jews, deals in their name with the Turkish authorities, and enjoys great consideration.

The Armenians appear to play a very subordinate part. Southgate counted 125 families of them, 25 of which were United Catholics and 100 Syrian Catholics, or so-called Chaldæans; they had a very miserable church and no bishop. Their poverty is perhaps only feigned, for under despotic governments Armenians always pretend to be destitute, live in a very retired manner, and shun every kind of display. Wellsted, indeed, assures us, that the Armenians of Baghdád are not only well off, but even rich. The United Catholics held their devotions at home; but the Syrian Catholics or Chaldæans, with ten or twelve Roman Catholic European families who lived here, had their divine service in the same church, though at different times and with different ceremonies. A Roman Missionary had recently been consecrated as bishop of Babylon and Persia—like Beauchamp formerly—who considered the whole of Mesopotamia, Persia, Armenia, and Kurdistan to belong to his diocese, which

he also intended to visit in company with the bishop of Khosrova. At that time (1837) great efforts were made by the Roman Catholic missions in the East.

The Syrian Christians, who have a patriarch in Baghdád, considered it dishonourable to assume the name of *Jacobites* like their Mesopotamian brothers, as if they were the adherents of a heresiarch, whereas they belonged to the ancient Syrian church. They, therefore, always called themselves merely *Syrians*, whilst those of them who had separated, and had joined the Roman Catholic church, called themselves *Syrian Catholics*. Neither did the *Nestorians* of these parts like to be known by that name, but called themselves *Chaldæans*, and asserted that they were descendants of the Assyrians, as the Jacobites were of the Syrians of Damascus. The patriarch of the Chaldæans of Al-Kosh, the Venerable Mar Elias, had come to Baghdád for the consecration of the Bishop of Babylon, and Southgate learnt from him that he was one of the chiefs of the old Nestorian united church, the other, Mr. Shimon, the patriarch of Julamerk, or of the separate independent Nestorians, upon whom the Protestant Mission of Urmia exerted influence, as the Roman Catholic Mission of Mosul was upon the former. The Roman Catholic church has given the name of *Chaldæans* to proselytes of two sects, namely, the *Nestorians* and the *Syrian Christians*, which has naturally given rise to various misapprehensions, as there is no question of nationality. By the Arabic word *Nasráni* (Nazarene) only the Nestorians were designated in Persia, but all sects of Christians in Mesopotamia; there are many of them in Baghdad, whose colloquial language is *Arabic*, as in Damascus and Cairo, while Persian and Turkish are less spoken, though all three can be studied very well in the town.

E. REHATSEK.

ART.—VI.—THE SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," October 1883.)

AN exposition of the principles of the Sankhya system must be incomplete without some reference to a treatise, decidedly earlier than the one already examined, we mean the *Sankhya-Karica*, or exposition of the Sankhya, by Iswara Krishna. That this document is more ancient than the *Sankhya Pravachana*, or the *Sankhya Sutras*, falsely ascribed to Kapila, is proved both by internal and external evidence. The speculations embodied in the *Sankhya Pravachana* about the emergent deity, who appears as Creator under the name of Brahma, as Preserver under that of Vishnu, and as Destroyer under that of Mahadeva, are sufficient to trace its composition to the age when an attempt was made to reconcile philosophy with current superstitions; and they would be enough, even if other proofs were wanting, to establish its posteriority. The book, however, abounds with references to the varied systems of philosophy which are known to have flourished in times posterior to the age of Kapila, who in one important sense may be called the father of Hindu Philosophy. Such references, both direct and oblique, are scarcely met with in the *Sankhya-Karica*, which, moreover, does not indicate any advance on the part of Philosophy towards a reconciliation between the transcendental speculations of the schools and the grovelling beliefs of the masses.

The *Sankhya-Karica* consists of seventy-two *slokas*, or distichs, each, as a rule, bearing upon a distinct topic. As specimens of conciseness of style, condensation of thought, and closeness of reasoning, these distichs are worthy of all praise; though they are free, comparatively speaking, from the tinge of controversialism by which the later work is distinguished. The book has been very recently translated by Mr. John Davies, whose elucidatory notes and extracts from standard commentaries are helps without which it is impossible for the ordinary reader to master its contents. Of his translation we shall avail ourselves in our attempt to present a synopsis of its contents.

Regarding the author of the *Sankhya-Karica*, very little is known beyond what is indicated in the last three of its distichs. These we deem it desirable to transcribe:—

"This supreme purifying doctrine, the Sage (Kapila) compassionately imparted to Asuri; Asuri taught it to Panchasikha, by whom it was extensively made known.

"Handed down by disciples in succession, it has been compendiously written in Arya metre by the noble-minded Iswara Krishna, having fully learned the demonstrated truth.

"The subjects treated in seventy distichs are those of the complete science, containing sixty topics, excluding illustrative tales, and omitting also controversial questions.

"Thus is completed the book of the Sankhya (Philosophy) uttered by the venerable, the great-minded, and divine Kapila.

"May prosperity attend it!"

In accordance with the plan referred to, if not distinctly laid down in the last paper, we shall present a synopsis of the contents of this book, allude cursorily to an expository argument in the dissertation on this Philosophy in the *Sarva Darśana Sangraha*, and conclude with a few general observations on the doctrines and principles of the system under review.

And first, in accordance with our arrangement, we shall enquire into what the book says about the soul and Prakriti, the two entities admitted as existent in the Sankhya School. But before we do so, a preliminary observation is desirable.

The speculations embodied in *Sankhya-Karica* begin exactly where those of *Sankhya Pravachana* begin, that is, with the admission of the three kinds of pain begetting a longing for liberation, such as can not possibly be satisfied by "the visible means," such as earthly pleasures, medicine, &c., or by "the revealed means," such as prayers, sacrifices, and other religious observances. The first two distichs set forth in a condensed form the object and scope of Sankhya Philosophy, as well as the universally admitted fact on which it is based:—

"From the injurious effects of the three-fold kinds of pain (arises) a desire to know the means of removing it (pain). If from the visible (means of removing it) this desire should seem to be superfluous, it is not so, for these are neither absolutely complete nor abiding.

"The revealed (means) are like the visible (*i. e.*, inefficient, for they are connected with impurity, destruction, and excess. A contrary method is better, and this consists in a discriminative knowledge of the manifested (forms of matter,) the unmanifested (Prakriti or primeval matter) and the knowing (soul)."

Mr. Davies shows how religious observances are, according to Kapila, accompanied with "impurity, destruction, excess or inequality." The Vedic system, which is an embodiment of what the text calls "revealed means," is imperfect and inefficient, because it is inseparably linked to bloody sacrifices, which cannot but result in impurity; because the reward it promises

is temporary happiness, not the liberation implied in the soul's emancipation from all material influences; and, lastly, because it gives some persons, for instance, the rich who can offer bloody sacrifices more easily than the poor, an undue advantage over others.

Now let us group some of the passages in which the anti-thesis between the soul and Prakriti, is set forth:—

3. "Prakriti, the root (of material forms) is not produced. The great one (Mahat Buddhi or Intellect) and the rest (which spring from it) are seven (substances) producing and produced. Sixteen are productions (only). Soul is neither producing nor produced."

11. "The manifested (*Vyakta*) has the three modes (*guna*). It is indiscriminating, objective, generic, irrational and productive. So also is Pradhan (Prakriti). Soul in these respects, as in those (previously mentioned), is the reverse."

15. "From the finite nature of specific objects; from the homogeneous nature (of genera and species); from the active energy of evolution (the constant progressive development of finite forms); from the separateness of cause and effect; and from the undividedness (or the real unity) of the whole universe."

16. "(It is proved that) there is a primary cause, the unmanifested (*Avyakta*) which acts (or develops itself) by three modes; by blending and modification, like water, from the difference of the receptacle or seat of the modes as they are variously distributed."

17. "Because an assemblage (of things) is for the sake of another; because the opposite of the three modes and the rest (their modifications) must exist; because there must be a superintending power; because there must be a nature that enjoys, and because of (the existence of) active exertion for the sake of abstraction or isolation (from material contact); therefore soul exists."

18. "From the separate allotment of birth, death and the organs; from the diversity of occupations at the same time; and also from the different conditions (or modifications) of the three modes; it is proved that there is a plurality of souls."

19. "And from that contrariety (of soul) it is concluded, that the witnessing soul is isolated, neutral, perceptive, and inactive by nature."

20. "It is thus, from this union, that the unintelligent body (the *linga*) appears to be intelligent, and from the activity of the modes, the stranger (the soul) appears to be an agent."

These distichs set forth the contrast between Prakriti and soul as well as the varied kinds of proof by which their existence is

demonstrated. Prakriti is the root of the perceptible and inferrable universe, that is the universe of which the grosser objects are perceived, and the subtler, inferred from those perceived. Prakriti is the unmanifested (avyakta) developing itself, its consequence of an immanent law of cyclic revolution, into the manifested (Vyakta); and it unfolds itself in forms which may be classed in genera and in species. Prakriti is objective, irrational, unfitted to discriminate one thing from another, and productive or evolvent. The soul is the very antipodes in all these respects of Prakriti. It is in its essence isolated from the universe of material objects, the entity which always continues unmanifested, is subjective, rational, fitted to discern the differences subsisting between things which differ, non-productive and inactive. Its rationality and discriminativeness are, however, problematical, as we shall show by and bye. Suffice it to say here, that the two entities are so decidedly opposed to one another, that, in order to produce either of them, we have only to divest the other of its peculiar attribute and clothe it with those which are their contrasts or opposites.

In one important respect the antithesis between Prakriti and soul is marked. Prakriti has the three *gunas*, or qualities, or modes, while the soul is entirely free from their presence or influence. Let us see what the *Karica* says about these constitutive elements of Prakriti :—

12. "The modes have a joyous, grievous, and stupefying nature. They serve for manifestation, activity and restraint; they naturally subdue and support each other, produce each other, consort together, and take each other's condition.

13. "'Goodness' (Sattma) is considered as light (or subtle) and enlightening (or manifesting); 'passion' or 'foulness' (rajas as exerting and mobile; 'darkness' (Tamas) as heavy or enveloping (or obstructive). This action for the gaining of an end is like that of a lamp."

14. "In the higher world the quality (or mode) called 'goodness' prevails; below, the creation abounds in 'darkness'; in the midst foulness or passion abounds. Brahma and the rest (of the gods) and a stock form the limits."

The *gunas*, it is to be observed, cannot, properly speaking, be called moral dispositions, such as goodness, activity, and indolence are. They may be represented as producers of our moral dispositions, the material essence of which both our intellectual and moral affections are modifications or evolutes. Matter, according to this system, may be defined as a double-faced entity; and it is presented in the universe in a variety of forms more or less gross, more or less subtle and tenuous. To its grosser forms we

give the name of material objects; while its subtler invisible forms we characterize as intellectual affections and moral dispositions. But the sharp line of demarcation that we draw between matter and mind has no foundation in truth, though held up as obviously just by the factitious rule of our dictionaries and grammars!

Another point of difference, or rather contrariety, between Prakriti and Purush, or soul, hinges on the unity of the one, and multitude of the other. Prakriti is one, indivisible substance, appearing in endless varieties of forms under the influence of the quality called 'passion,' which leads it irresistibly to pass through a fixed process of evolution. Souls are, however, innumerable. How is this to be proved? Before it is possible to answer this question satisfactorily it is necessary to enquire—how is the existence of Prakriti itself, or that of Purush, or soul, to be proved?

Here we must notice that only three sources of knowledge, or kinds of proof, are admitted in this treatise, as in the *Sankhya Pravachana*. In distich 4 we have these stated:—"Perception, inference, and fit testimony are the three-fold (kinds of) accepted proof, because in them every mode of proof is fully contained. The complete determination, or perfect knowledge, of what is to be determined is by proof." And in distich 6, the province, so to speak, of each of these lines of evidence is indicated:—"The knowledge of formal or generic existence is by perception; of things beyond the senses by reference; that which cannot be determined by this (method) and cannot be perceived must be determined by fitting means."

The argument brought forward to prove the existence and multitude of souls is the same presented as that in the *Sankhya Pravachana* with some new features added.

We are assured of the existence of the objects of nature by perception. But these objects are finite or conditioned, and they cannot but lead us to look for the ground of their existence apart from themselves. They are, moreover, classed in genera and species, and they consequently lead the mind towards an original or primary genus. The process of evolution noticeable in their production suggests an evolving principle; while the chain of second causes they point to, leads us to a recognition of a precedent first cause. And, lastly, the unity of the universe indicates the operation in its production of a principle, originally indiscernible and indiscrete, though susceptible of modification, such as renders it now multiform, divisible and divided. Inference, therefore, rising from a series of effects to the primal cause, establishes the existence of Prakriti, "which develops itself by

the three modes," blended into varieties of forms, as "simple water coming from the clouds is modified as sweet, sour, bitter, pungent in the nature of the juice of the cocoanut-palm, *bel-karanja* and wood-apple.

But the vast assemblage of things into which Prakriti has developed cannot exist for nothing; and it therefore suggests the presence, somewhere, of one fitted to own and enjoy it, as a well furnished house necessarily carries with it the idea of a person dwelling in it. Besides this assemblage of inanimate things needs the supervision and regulating power of an intelligent ruler; while the rush towards emancipation made by Prakriti in some of its subtler forms leads the mind by a transition, natural and easy, to the recognition of a being enthralled, and therefore in need, of deliverance. The existence of the soul is therefore established! The argument, however, is a naked fallacy, inasmuch as the soul, being perfectly inert and quiescent, is, properly speaking, neither an enjoyer nor a ruler, while its enthrallment is a fiction, rather than entity.

Various facts are mentioned as tending to prove the multitude or plurality of souls. The varied accidents of birth and death form a series of indisputable facts fitted to set forth their multitudinousness. If souls were one, not many, the birth and death of one person would synchronize with the birth and death of all other persons; or if there were only one soul, all human beings would come into the world and go out of it at one and the same time. But the fact is, that they come in at different times and go out at different times; and the endless diversity in their hours of ingress and egress is a proof that souls are multitudinous, not one. Again, if souls were one, the organs of perception and intellection attached to them would not prevent the variety of aspects which is their most noticeable aspect. In one man, for instance, the sense of hearing or sight is ten times acuter than in another; and in many the sense itself does not exist at all. Why these differences? Owing certainly to the deserts of souls, to the merits or demerits accumulated by them severally in former states of existence. But if souls were one, and the deserts the same, the organs would present a uniform aspect, the sense of sight or hearing would be acute or dull in all human beings, and defects and imperfections would be equally, not unequally, distributed. And, lastly, all mankind would in that case be equally affected by the modes or qualities. The fact, however, is that there is an endless variety of ways in which human beings are affected by them. Some are peculiarly susceptible to the quality of goodness, and become good almost instinctively; while others are enslaved, as it were, by the evil qualities almost from their birth.

The reasoning here is fallacious, as it ascribes to the soul some responsibility, which in reality belongs to nature!

One important question ought to be raised and disposed of before we proceed to a detailed treatment of the products or evolutes of Prakriti. If those dispositions which are characterised as moral are foreign to the soul, wherein do they inhere? The Sankhya philosopher is penetrating enough to see that such dispositions as goodness, passion or indolence cannot inhere in or form portions of our gross bodies. Nor can they inhere in or form elements of the soul without leading it to some kind of action, inconsistent with the hypothesis of its perfect quiescence. A habitation for these dispositions is therefore a desideratum in the system. The Sankhya philosopher meets the want by positing a subtle body between the perfectly quiescent soul and the gross, perceptible and tangible body. This is called the *linga-sarir*, and it migrates with the soul from one gross body to another, and is dissolved only when its perfect emancipation is effected by intense meditation. The following distichs speak of this subtle body:—

39. "Subtle (bodies), those which are born of father and mother, with the gross forms of existence, are the three-fold species (of bodies). Of these the subtle are permanent; those which are born of father and mother perish.

40. "The subtle (body) *linga*, formed primevally, unconfined, permanent, composed of intellect and the rest, down to the subtle elements, migrates, never enjoys, and is endowed with dispositions (*Bhavas*).

41. "As a painting does not stand without a support or receptacle, nor a shadow without a stake, &c., so the *linga* does not exist unsupported without specific elements.

42. "Formed for the sake of the soul, the *linga*, by the connection of means and their results and by union with the predominant Prakriti, plays its part like a dramatic actor."

All material objects are in these verses divided into three classes, subtle bodies, gross bodies, or those which are born of father and mother, and various forms of unorganized matter. The subtle body or *linga-sarir* is composed of the three primal evolutes of Prakriti, intellect or intelligence, egoism and *Manas*, or mind, and the rudimental elements (the *Tanmatras*); and it is, therefore, like these, imperceptible. It is more permanent than our gross bodies, is unconfined because it migrates from one gross body to another with the soul, and is endowed with moral dispositions, though incapable of enjoyment, which is the prerogative of the soul, suppositious rather than real. It, however, enthrals the soul, which must cast aside this tenuous

garment, as well as its series of grosser bodies, before its liberation or final separation from all material conditions is effected.

It is time to advert to the productions or evolutes of Prakriti. These are set forth in the following distichs :—

22. "From Prakriti issues the great principle (Mahat, Intellect), and from this the ego, or consciousness, from this (consciousness) the whole assemblage of the sixteen (principles or entities) and from five of the sixteen the five gross elements.

23. "Intellect is the distinguishing principle (*adhyavasya*). Virtue, knowledge, freedom from passion and power denote it when affected by (the mode) 'goodness'; when affected by 'darkness' it is the reverse of these.

24. "Egoism is self-consciousness. From this proceeds a double creation (*sarga*, emanation), the series of the eleven (principles) and the five (subtle) elements.

25. "From consciousness, modified (by 'goodness'), proceed the eleven good principles; from this origin of being as darkness come the subtle elements. Both emanations are caused by the foul or active mode.

26. "The eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin are termed the organs of intellect (*buddhi*); the voice, the hands, the feet, (the organs of) excretion and generation are called the organs of action.

27. "The *Manas* (mind) in this respect has the nature of both (classes). It is formative (or determinative) and a sense-organ, from having cognate functions (with the organs). It is multifarious, from the specific modifications of the modes and the diversity of external things."

These evolutes with the root, evolvent, Prakriti and the soul, which is neither an evolvent nor an evolute, form the twenty-five *tattvas*, or categories of the Sankhya Philosophy. For the sake of easy reference we give them below in the order in which they are presented in Mr. Davies' excellent book :—

1. Prakriti, or primordial, self-evolving matter.
2. Ahankara, the egoizer or consciousness.
3. Tanmatras, or subtle elements, five in number, sound tangibleness or touch, odour or smell, visibility or form, and sapidity or taste.
5. The five gross elements, (*Mahabhuta*) viz., ether from the subtle element sound, air from touch, earth from odour, fire from sight or visibility, and water from taste or sapidity.
6. The five senses, the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin (*Gyan-indryani*, or organ of knowledge).
7. The organs of action (*Karma-indryani*), the voice, the hands, the feet, (the organs of) excretion and generation.

8. *Manas*, or mind, which receives and works into proper shapes the impressions made upon the senses, and which is regarded as one of the three internal organs, the other two being intelligence and consciousness.

9. The soul (*Atman* or *Purush*), which is an entity distinct from *Prakriti*.

Among the evolutes of *Prakriti*, the organs are divided into internal and external, and the elements into subtle and gross.

The internal organs are the intellect or intelligence, consciousness or egoizer, and the mind or the thinking principle. They are the gatekeepers of the soul, while the external organs, the five organs of knowledge and the five organs of actions, are the gates. The external objects of nature and their impressions through five especially of these gates to the mind, which works them into appropriate forms, or ideas, and communicates them to consciousness, by which they are individualized and conveyed to the intellect, which forms general concepts, such as are reflected in the soul, which is erroneously said to be the cognitive principle. This is Mr. Davies' view of the function of these internal organs, but the commentators whom he consults, present a very different, and a much more confused notion of their varied operations. *Vachaspati* speaks of the mind thus:—"It gives form in a collective manner to that which is perceived by an organ of sense, and says, 'this is a thing,' this is confounded and that is not so; and it discriminates or defines a thing by its specific and unspecific nature." And *Gandapada* says:—"As a person going along a road sees an object at a distance, and is in doubt whether it be a post or a man; he then observes some characteristic mark upon it, or a bird perched there, and, doubt being thus dissipated by the reflection of the mind, the understanding (*Buddhi*, or intellect) discriminates that it is a post; and then egoism interposes for the sake of certainty, as 'verily, or (I am certain) it is a post.' In this way the functions of intellect, egoism and mind, and the eye are (successively) fulfilled."

The functions of the external organs are not categorically stated in the *Sankhya-Karica* and the *Sankhya Pravachana*; and modern commentators mislead when they speak of them in the phraseology current in modern schools of philosophy. Let us turn from what is at least speculation to what is distinctly stated about them. Intellect under the influence of 'goodness' is distinguished by virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and supernatural power; but it is disfigured under the influence of 'darkness' by vice, ignorance, passionateness, and weakness. The emancipation of the soul is ultimately effected by it, when it

clearly sees the distinction between soul and non-soul, the ego and the non-ego. Virtue and vice, therefore, as well as knowledge and ignorance, are material conditions, not moral dispositions and intellectual states in the proper sense of these terms.

Intelligence, however, retires from the scene as soon as its great offspring egoism, or self-consciousness, makes its appearance. The work of creation is effected by this principle. Under the control of 'goodness,' it evolves out of its own substance the eleven organs, which are all good, *viz.*, the five organs of knowledge, the five organs of action, and the eleventh organ, or the mind, which, though one of the last of creations, takes rank with the first, and its own producer, consciousness. Under the control of 'darkness' it creates the subtle elements, and through them the gross elements, which in varieties of combinations are found in the objects of nature. Consciousness evolves out of its own substance the entire creation; and if consciousness were not a material product, an evolute of the assumed primordial material form, the Sankhya system might appropriately be characterized as a beautiful scheme of idealistic philosophy.

The *Surva-Darsana-Samgraha* presents in its disquisition on Sankhya Philosophy the categories of the system in these words:—"Now the Sastra of this school may be concisely said to maintain four several kinds of existences, *viz.*, that which is evolvent only, that which is evolute only, that which is both evolute and evolvent, and that which is neither."

Regarding the bondage and liberation of souls we have these utterances:—

44. "By virtue an ascent to a higher region is obtained, by vice a descent into a lower region. Deliverance is gained by knowledge, and bondage by the contrary.

45. "By the absence (or destruction) of passion there is dissolution of Prakriti (or the power of Prakriti is destroyed). Transmigration is from disorderly passion. By power we gain destruction of obstacles, and the reverse by the contrary.

The cause of the bondage of the soul is ignorance, not vice; and its liberation is effected by knowledge, not virtue. This is one of those principles of Hindu philosophy which are common to all the systems, many of those called heterodox not excepted. According to these, virtue is a source of bondage as well as vice. Virtue, as has already been said, proceeds from desire for happiness and aversion to pain, which are in themselves wrong principles of action. Virtue results only in the prolongation of the chain of transmigration, its upshot being the translation of the soul into one of those ethereal regions which rise in an ascending scale, one above another, from this world, for the purpose of temporary

enjoyment of the fruits of its good works, and its return in a bodily shape to this world, when these are in the course of slow-circling ages consumed. Permanent liberation of the soul, or its relegation to its original state of non-contact with matter, virtue cannot effect. That is the fruit of knowledge, knowledge of the categories of the Sankhya system—or rather of the difference between soul and non-soul !

Gandapada, one of the great commentators, without whose help it is impossible to understand the book under review, thus speaks of knowledge in general :—" Knowledge is of two kinds, external and internal. The former includes knowledge of the Vedas, and the six branches of knowledge connected with them,—recitation, ritual, grammar, interpretation of words, prosody and astronomy ; also of the Purans, and of knowledge, theology and law. Internal knowledge is the knowledge of Prakriti and soul, or the discrimination that "this is Prakriti," the equipoised condition of the modes, and "this is soul," devoid of the modes, permanent and intelligent. By external knowledge worldly distinction, or admiration, is obtained ; by internal knowledge, liberation, that is from the bondage of matter. And, in another place, the same commentator says :—" He who knows the twenty-five principles, whatever order of life he may enter, and whether he wore braided hair, or top-knot only, or be shaven, he is free ; of this there is no doubt."

But, after all, the bondage and liberation of the soul are mere fictions. It is Prakriti that is in reality bound and liberated, the soul being essentially free and incapable of bondage ; nor is transmigration, the perennial source of misery from which deliverance is to be earnestly desired, a cause of trouble to the pure spirits. Distich 62 of the Book runs thus :—" Wherefore not any soul is bound, or is liberated, or migrates. It is Prakriti, which has many receptacles (or bodily forms of being) which is bound, or is liberated, or migrates. Again in verse 3 we have the words :—" Prakriti by herself binds herself by seven forms, she causes deliverance for the benefit of soul by one form." Prakriti is said to be "generous" and "modest." She is generous, because all the trouble that she unconsciously takes in evolving creation out of its substance is for the benefit of the soul, not its own. But as she is after all the incarcerator and liberator of the soul, her belauded generosity is problematical. She is moreover called modest, because she retires as soon as she has exhibited herself to the soul. "As a dancer, having exhibited herself on the stage, ceases to dance, so does Prakriti cease (to produce) when she has made herself manifest to soul (59). "Nothing is more modest than Prakriti ; that is my judgment.

Saying, 'I have been seen : ' she does not expose herself again to the view of the soul " (61). But the fact remains indisputable, that she creates or evolves only to be seen ; and a girl, who takes a world of trouble only to be seen, can not appropriately be called modest, even though she has the good sense to retire as soon as she is seen.

If bondage and liberation really belong to Prakriti, why ascribe them at all to the soul ? Let the commentator Vachaspati answer this question :—"These circumstances are ascribed to and affect the soul, as the superior, in the same manner that victory and defeat are attributed to and relate to a king, though actually occurring in his generals ; for they are his servants, and the gain or loss is his, not theirs." This is, however, a string of words without meaning. The soul is in reality nor king, nor master, nor gainer, nor loser ; nor does it, properly speaking, see. Prakriti in all its modifications is only reflected in the tranquil, immobile and luminous soul, which, as it is destitute of volition and vitality, cannot possibly recognise what is fitted to make it miserable or happy.

To show in what respect the Sankhya system is different from the forms of thought subsequently developed, let us refer for a moment to a discussion embodied in the *Surva-Darsana-Sangraha*. The author after having stated the categories of the system, and grouped them under the heads, evolvent only, evolutes and evolvent, evolutes only, and non-evolvent and non-evolute, thus raises the discussion alluded to :—

"Here a four-fold discussion arises as to the nature of cause and effect. The Sangatas (Buddhists) maintain that the existent is produced from non-existent ; the Naiyayika, &c., that the (as yet) non-existent is produced from the existent ; the Vedantins that all effects are an illusory emanation from the existent, and not themselves really existent ; while the Sankhyas hold that the existent is produced from the existent."

It is not our intention to follow the author through the varied steps of his arguments ; our object being simply to show that, while Buddhism, the source of the heterodox systems, maintains a species of rank nihilism, the orthodox systems were based on the assumption of a primordial substance, either material or spiritual, and they were all evolved from the teaching of the Upanishads. Dr. Mullens, in his well-known treatise on Hindu Philosophy, has fallen into the mistake of holding up these venerable documents as the source of Hindu Pantheism, not that of Hindu Philosophy in all its phases of development from nihilism. And men more profoundly versed in Hindu philosophy than the late Doctor, have shown a strong tendency to a similar,

or rather identical, mistake. But one cannot study the Upanishads in connexion with the systems of philosophy which have flourished in India in different periods, of its history, without being led to connect the former with the latter, the Upanishads with the systems, as cause and effect.

It is not denied that the prevalent line of philosophic thought in the Upanishads is pantheistic. Their great motto, one without a second, is the battle-cry of Indian and European, indigenous and foreign, pantheistic forms of speculation. The cosmogonies presented in them, the description given of man's nature and of the world itself, and the theory of salvation developed, manifest a stronger leaning, so to speak, towards pantheism than towards any other form of speculative thought. But there are lines of reasoning, and forms of expression in these records eminently fitted to uphold forms of thought other than those which are properly called pantheistic. The four well-known expressions, *Sat* and *Asat*, *Vyakta* and *Avyakta*, which play so conspicuous a part in the cosmogonies of the Upanishads, are certainly susceptible of nihilistic and materialistic, as well as pantheistic interpretation, and they have in consequence been bandied backwards and forwards by almost all the jarring schools of Indian philosophy.

In one verse especially, quoted in a former paper, creation is distinctly said to have flowed out of *Asat*, non-being and non-existent; and in several passages the *Avyakta*, unmanifested, is represented as the ground of the *Vyakta*, or manifested, aspects of nature, and these passages may obviously be construed so as to uphold any form of thought ranging between absolute nihilism and absolute pantheism. The Buddhists, or some classes of Buddhists, have evolved from them their idea of an eternal void of non-being, developing into innumerable forms of existence, more illusory than real. The Sankhya School has derived from them its notion of *Prakriti*, unmanifested in its undeveloped form, but manifesting itself in various imperceptible and perceptible shapes, in consequence of the mischievous activity of one of its three essential elements. And the Vedantic thinker has elaborated these very utterances into his theory of illusory existence, concealing the real under the phenomenal, the one pure being under various types of non-being. The Upanishads, therefore, have given rise to the various lines of speculation by which the intellect of the country, by no means deficient in acuteness and depth, has been exercised and moulded for centuries and ages untold.

The main principles of the Sankhya Philosophy have been set forth in this and the preceding paper, in the words mainly of the

Books which may be represented as its standard and authoritative documents. A simple, unvarnished statement of these is enough to show that the glowing eulogy of which it has been made the favoured subject in some quarters is entirely misplaced and fulsome. The system is a heap of nonsense, dreamy in its character, self-contradictory in its statements, and immoral in its principles and tendencies. This will appear in the sequel.—Meanwhile we raise the question:—How is the system to be characterised? With what system of philosophic thought is it to be compared? .

It has been called, apparently with propriety, a system of dualism, because it postulates the existence of two entities, the passive soul and the active Prakriti. But the description it gives of the soul tends to make it an entity of no consequence whatever, in fact, a non-entity. The soul is without volition, without intelligence in the proper sense of the term, without sensibility,—a lump of passivity and quiescence. It is impossible to divine what use is subserved by its existence, or why its existence is posited. It thinks not, feels not, sees not, handles not. It plays no part whatever in the varied work of creation, preservation and destruction; and it is only falsely called a spectator and enjoyer of experience. It may therefore be appropriately thrown out of calculation entirely.

The system, then, is rank materialism, and differs from the materialism of the day in its arrangement, rather than in its principle. Modern materialism cannot ignore the established facts and conclusions of science, and consequently the theory of evolution it brings forward, goes up in an ascending scale from the elements, the ultimate powers of nature, to their varied combinations, from inorganic to organized matter, from the lower to the higher types of life, from molecular motion to thought, feeling and volition. But the founder of the Sankhya School was a stranger to that insight into the mysteries of creation which a schoolboy in these days may justly boast of; and he, in consequence, propounded a theory of evolution which comes down in a descending scale, or rather moves fitfully or irregularly. But the two classes of systems agree in representing intelligence, consciousness and mind with all its affections, apprehension, sensibility, volition, &c., as modifications of matter. The difference is, that, in accordance with one of these two sets of systems, thought is evolved from gross matter; while in accordance with the other gross matter is evolved from thought. Or, to express the same idea in a different form, gross matter is sublimated into thought according to the one set; while thought degenerates into gross matter according to the other.

The two classes of systems also agree in another respect.

They make hair-splitting distinctions between matter in its essence and matter in its grossness, between matter subtle and matter gross. The Sankhya system discriminates between, as has already been shown, a subtle body and a gross body, a body which migrates with the soul from one tenement of clay to another, and does not dissolve till its final emancipation from corporeal thralldom, and a body which is decomposed soon after death. Nor does the discrimination stop here. A distinction is made between the senses and the powers inherent in them, between the sense, for instance, of sight, and the unseen power of sight inherent in the organs; the sense of hearing and the power of hearing inherent in the organ; and so on. Again, a distinction is made between subtle and gross elements, between the elements perceptible to us, and those the existence of which is proved by inference, and which are perceptible to beings endowed with powers of sensation and intellection, more enlarged than ours. Materialism of the modern school is obliged to make such subtle distinctions, as without them it is impossible to place the functions of the mind in the same category with the functions of the body.

A tendency has been growing up, especially since the publication of the well-known treatise the *Unseen Universe*, to laugh at the idea of a vacuum, and fill the interminable regions of space, which were looked upon as a boundless void in former times, with a material, or quasi-material, luminiferous fluid of extreme tenuity; as well as to posit a sort of invisible material organization, or casement, for the soul beneath the body, which is obviously decomposed after death. Many even of those persons who believe in the instinctively recognized dualism in man, are prone to believe in the existence of a tenuous, subtle body between the immaterial soul and the gross material body, a sort of intermediate, permanent substance which death cannot affect, and of which the soul never gets rid. These advanced thinkers will rejoice, or be mortified, to find that their new-fangled theory was anticipated in India, about five centuries before the birth of Christ. The existence of an all-pervading substance material or quasi-material, consisting of three qualities, held in equipoise, was assumed by Kapila long before such words as 'nebulous matter' or 'star-dust' were coined. And the idea of a *linga-sarir*, or tenuous body in contradistinction to, though intimately connected with, the *sthul-sarir*, or gross body, is developed both in the treatise under review in this discourse, and that taken notice of in the former.

This idea is somewhat differently stated and further expanded in the Sankhya Sutras. The second aphorism of Book III.

runs thus :—"Therefrom (i. e., from the twenty-three principles there is the organization of) the body (or pair of bodies, the gross and the subtle)." The gross body (*sthul-sari*) consists of the gross elements, or rather the grossest of the gross elements, the earth; and it is propagated by generation. It is incapable of experiencing pleasure or pain, and it is perishable, and does actually perish. For purposes of fruition it is of no use to the soul, or rather Prakriti, as it cannot effect its liberation by consuming the fruits of its merit or demerit. For such purposes another body of subtler elements, of greater permanence, and of capacities more expanded, must be posited. This is the subtle body created at the commencement of the creation, or *annus magnus*, or at every renovation of creation, not propagated by generation, consisting of seventeen principles, principles, the eleven organs, the five rudiments, and the organ of consciousness, the egoizer. It migrates from body to body, and disappears only when the fruits of merit or demerit on the part of its associate, the soul, or rather the mind, are consumed, and beatification is realized. This body is sentient, but it is incapable of pleasure or pain, except in association with the gross body, which is its counterpart, and the existence of which is essential to the performance of its functions. This body, moreover, has a case or sheath, and that is called *anusthani-sarir*, a sort of intermediate link between the impalpable, subtle and the palpable, gross body. Are not our modern philosophers beaten hollow by their prototypes of ancient times?

The Sankhya philosopher cannot properly be said to indicate the process of evolution. He states the material categories, the formative principles, but does not show how they combine or re-combine, integrate, disintegrate and reintegrate; or by what process they develop into the innumerable forms of beauty and proportion we see around us. But if he were asked to indicate this process, he would very likely adopt the language of Herbert Spencer, and affirm that the progress of creation was from homogeneity to heterogeneity, by a series of differentiations gradually effected. Nor would he in the slightest degree object to apply this law to social and moral development, as well as to that which is material. The truth is, his school, as that of Herbert Spencer, recognizes no real difference between material and moral conditions; and therefore the attempts made by some orientalists to identify his system with the idealism of Bishop Berkeley is futile indeed. He certainly does represent consciousness as the originator of material creation; and if by consciousness he understood what is now meant by it, as a rule, he might be held up as an idealist of the first water. But consciousness according to him

is a material organ, or principle, not intellectual power. In the work of evolution it performs, if work it can be called at all, its own substance, not anything extraneous, is utilized.

The comparison instituted between the Sankhya system and that propounded by Pythagoras of Samos, about the time when it was itself elaborated in India, is just, and the existing fragments of the work of Philolaus, who was a contemporary of Socrates, be regarded as correct exponents of the Pythagorean philosophy, the two systems may be represented, with some degree of justice, as similar, in many, if not all, respects. The system, which traces the wonders of creation through monadic and geometrical magnitudes to the principles of numbers, limiting and illimitation, may be placed in juxtaposition with one which performs the same feat under the auspices trinitarian, material essence, called Prakriti, or Maha (Great) Prakriti. But, barring the speculative wildness characteristic of both the systems, there are two points of similarity, or contact, to which prominence ought to be given. The Pythagorean, like the Sankhya system, is based on the doctrine of metempsychosis, and it represents the soul as enchained to the body, in which, as it is material, it recognizes an inherent and irremovable depravity. Add to this the fact, that the outcome of these two systems is one and the same process, the systematic mortification of the body by ascetic penance with a view to complete emancipation of the soul from its bondage.

The Indian system, however, is "racy of the soil," and almost all the principal vocables, which figure in the two systems, are used in it in a sense different from that which is attached to them by its rival. When the Indian system speaks of the bondage and liberation of the soul, it simply means the bondage and liberation of Prakriti and its products down to the gross body and the grossest of elements; and it represents the extinction of conscious life, consequent on the extinction of desire as the *summum bonum* to be attained by a species of mortification and penance before which the most self-torturing Greek philosopher would have stood aghast.

But the emancipation of Prakriti cannot be permanent, as it is fated to energize after long periods of quiescence. Creation emanates from it, and is ultimately absorbed in it, to be once more forced out and forced in. And, as Prakriti is never to get rid of its creative fits, it is fated to entangle and disentangle itself throughout eternity. Nor can the emancipation of the soul be called permanent, inasmuch as, in accordance with the principle of this philosophy, it is neither bound nor liberated. The innumerable contradictions which the system betrays, in expression, if not in enunciation of principle, and which the reader may

have noticed in this brief sketch, proceed mainly, if not entirely, from the fact, that such a thing as the soul, without life, energy or activity, mental, emotional or volitional, and without material properties, is uselessly placed in juxtaposition with an active and plastic material principle, which, through the vicious activity of one of its elements, evolves and gets entangled, and which laboriously procures its own emancipation by a series of self-inflicted tortures of the most appalling nature !

The Sankhya system is called *nirishwar*, or godless, in contradistinction to the Yoga Philosophy, which is called *Seishwar*, or with God. But yet it is an offshoot of a system of superstition, and the fountain of another. It is an intermediate link between the nature-worship of Vedic times and the polytheistic worship of those of the Puranas. The elemental gods of the Rig Veda were, by a process of generalization not certainly unnatural, unified by the spirit of philosophic enquiry into a living, diffusive and creative essence ; and this, in process of time, became the active, formative principle of the Sankhya School, its *Prakriti*, or *Pradhan*. But such a principle, too subtle to be grasped by the common mind, could not possibly make the system popular among the masses, and could not transfer it from academic groves to the thoroughfare and the market. It had therefore to be materialized or embalmed in a tangible, cognizable material form ; and the transformation was effected without much difficulty. The trinarian material essence was merged into the triad of Hindu Mythology, *Prakriti* identified with *Brahma* under the influence of the quality, goodness, into vision under that of passion, and into *Mahadeva* under that of darkness. But other transformations followed. The passionless, inactive and dead soul, uselessly posited by Sankhya Philosophy, ultimately became the fountain-head, so to speak, of an almost unbounded pantheon of male gods, who are all more or less dronish ; while the active *Prakriti* became, under the name of *Sakti* or *Brahmi*, the mother of the almost innumerable female deities with whom these male gods are consorted. And thus, in process of time, the recondite speculations of *Kapila* were incorporated with the popular religion of the Hindus, and a system of rank Atheism culminated in a system of rank polytheism.

RAM CHANDRA BOSE.

ART. VII.—THE PAST AND PRESENT OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE origin of the Eastern Question may be traced backwards to the dawn of history, and is in some degree attributable to the physical constitution of our globe. From the earliest ages the contrast and antagonism between East and West has played a conspicuous part in the world's history and the world's literature. In the old Pantheon of deified forces of nature, it was only to be expected that the Sun-god who daily performed his mysterious journey to the Blessed Isles of the West, should occupy a prominent position. Nor was it to be wondered at that the apparent inaccessibility of those regions which were every evening lit up by the sunset glory, should invest them with a halo of attraction, and beget an irresistible longing to start on a voyage of discovery towards them.

Stripped of their allegorical character, the poetical legends of the past often serve to present us with sober facts of history. Viewed in this light, the mythological tale to which we have alluded, tells us of the peopling of the shores of Europe by the Caucasian race, and of a similar movement towards the West, which occurred whenever the workshop of nations sent forth a new stream of barbarian hordes to prey on the countries civilised by the earliest emigrants. In the latter case it was an attack by the Mongolian upon the more fortunate Caucasian, and thus appears a tangible reason for the deep-rooted antipathy between these two differing branches of the human family. The triumph of the last mentioned race in Western Asia, which, it will be our endeavour to illustrate in the following pages, seems destined to be the final result of the ebb and flow of population which has been going on from the remotest period between the two continents. Whether the Mongolian will ever be finally expelled from the extreme East, is a matter which cannot as yet pass the bounds of conjecture, but his supremacy in that portion of Asia, which immediately adjoins Europe, seems already a thing of the past.

It is probable, that a reciprocal feeling somewhat akin to the longing for the Western travel, to which we have alluded above, had something to do with the colonisation by which, since the improvements in means of locomotion, the tables have been turned upon the East. It was impossible that the immigrant races of Europe should look towards the regions of the rising sun with any intelligent ideas of their previous connection with the old homes. But one cannot help speculating as to whether some

undefined attraction of this sort did not help to create the mirage-like glory with which imagination clothed the "georgious East," when the Caucasian set out to re-conquer the land he had left. Whatever may have been the cause, the result has been that he has not only re-obtained possession of Western Asia his earliest seat, and dispossessed the Mongol thereof, but has begun to threaten the latter in his own peculiar domain. Indeed, he has gone on to supersede aborigines, and claim soil all over the globe.

To look at this self-assertion of the Caucasian from the moralist's point of view, undoubtedly creates mingled feelings. If he had always acted as the protector of the weak against the strong and gone forth to carry civilisation and freedom all over the world, we should have nothing to say against his mission; but it is to be feared that this high ideal has been obscured by the play of self-interest. And, moreover, now-a-days, we are confronted by the singular spectacle of voluntary abdication of their high privileges by the Anglo-Saxon branch of the race, the only result of which must be the arrogation to themselves of the duty by a less scrupulous people, who will think more of their own interests than of those of humanity, in the performance of it. But whatever the results on the happiness of the world, the sovereignty of the Aryan is an accomplished fact, and we must accept it as it is. This branch of the Caucasian stock seems to claim political power as its natural heritage, and the number of nations now existing in the world, who do not belong to the ethnic category, but yet retain any portion of material consequence, can be counted on one's fingers.* Comparatively safe in their European homes, the Aryan races yet trembled successively at the threatened inroads of the Semite and the Tartar, and it is only in quite recent times that the power of their foes (that of the latter at least) seems finally on the wane.

A glance at the map of the world will show, that the three so-called continents of the Eastern Hemisphere, considered as a whole, can be roughly divided into as many great ethnographical divisions, the white man dominating in the centre, and the yellow and black varieties of the species occupying the extremities. With the negro inhabitants of the Southern portion of the old world we have nothing to do. The interchange of races in the North is what we have to consider, and a recognition of the general principles concerned will make the task simpler. From the very earliest ages the movement has been going on, and may be looked upon

* The great contest by which this supremacy has been secured, has been really a trial of strength between civilisation and barbarism, and although the result is now certain, the vicissitudes of the struggle have been numerous and complicated.

as almost a necessary consequence of the physical conditions of the continent.

The irregularities in the productive powers of the soil would naturally lead to contests for the possession of the most favoured spots, and when the dominant races began to multiply so much as to find even them insufficient for their requirements, organised expeditions in search of "fresh fields and pastures new" would be the result. It was probably in this way that the white man spread to the North-West and South-East from his birthplace in Altai, and thus that the successive waves of Mongolian invasion were impelled towards the West.

We began by calling attention to the contrast which has always existed between the two quarters of the globe. The attempt at universal sovereignty on the part of Rome failed, perhaps, as much on account of the impossibility of fusing into a homogeneous whole two such diametrically antagonistic territories as for any other reason. The restlessness, the instability, of the Mongol, has always been, so to speak, ready to hurl itself against the settled Government which the Caucasian loves. The same remarks may perhaps apply to a certain extent to the Celt at the present day. When the Roman empire was finally dismembered, Mongolian irruptions had more than anything else to do with the catastrophe; just as it was a Mongolian empire, *viz.*, Parthia, which had been the great rival of Rome all through her palmiest days of sovereignty.

The final effort of the yellow man belongs to comparatively recent times, and succeeded in making even the stable kingdoms into which the European portion of the Roman empire broke up, tremble for their safety. This brings us to the division of the subject which is most interesting to us in India, and which we may be pardoned for lingering over. We refer to the great contest between the youngest-born of the European nationalities, and the Asiatic, which has been fought out on the debateable ground between the two countries, and the concluding phase of which is attracting so much attention at the present day.

But before proceeding to consider the page of Asiatic history in which Russia and the Golden Horde are the two central figures, we will glance from another point of view at the main threads of the annals of Mongolia, previous to the rise of the nomad kingdoms which were so long the scourge of Europe. If we can discover any general laws pervading the whole, we shall experience much less difficulty in comprehending the broad scope of the subject. Now the instability of the Mongol, already alluded to, is a characteristic which gives a continuity and general similarity to all his political performances. A tendency at once to territorial extension and speedy collapse, has distinguished nearly every one

of the sovereignties founded by the race; and where there have been exceptions to the rule, we can, almost invariably, trace the admixture of other ethnic-stocks.

The large majority of the great and wide-stretching empires of Asia have been founded by these restless Mongols, but their power has been as ephemeral in duration, as it was resistless while it lasted. The student of history will be able to illustrate this by an enquiry into the ethnic character of the various barbarian invasions under which the Roman empire finally succumbed. It will be found that whenever either the majority of the tribes, or the ruling race was Mongol, the attempt to found a lasting kingdom was nearly always vain. The history of the tribe is centred in one man, as that of the Huns was in Attila.

Another general law continually reappearing in this somewhat obscure, but profoundly interesting chapter of history, is what has been called the "Westerly drifting of Nomads." The tendency of all these Central Asiatic tribes has been to overflow towards the West as long as there remained countries to conquer in that direction, or as long as they continued superior in the arts of war to the nations they had to attack. The above remarks must be taken to apply to comparatively recent times. The ethnological difficulties which meet us at every turn in the study of the history of remote antiquity are almost insuperable. Should, however, the ancient histories of the future ever contain an addition of two more empires to the list of those usually treated of, the Accadian, and the Malay, we may find still further illustration of the peculiarities alluded to.

The principal cause of the singularly short lived character of the empires founded by the nomad races, has undoubtedly been their inability to absorb and coalesce with others. In regard to this quality a distinction must be drawn, not only between the Caucasian and Mogolian, but between the two principal sub-divisions of the latter race, *viz.*, the Mongols proper, or in the restricted sense, and the Turks. The latter name will suggest to every reader a signal exception to the rule above laid down.

It must be remembered, that, both before and after the period when Mongol chiefs marched forth to subdue the world, natives of a kindred race founded mighty empires. Some of these kingdoms, which, had circumstances been different, might have proved much less ephemeral than his own, had to be conquered by Chingis Khan, the Alexander of the East, before he succeeded to the hegemony of Asia. Distinguished from the other Tartars by a far greater disposition to form mixed races, the Turks remain to the present day, while the Mongols proper are dying out.

Politically too, the continuity of the Turk is in striking opposition to the meteor-like course of Mongol conquests. The dominion of the Seljuks which preceded, and that of the Ozbegs which followed the brief supremacy of the Mongolian Khanates, was much more enduring than they. The Turkish power in Europe which has defied the repeated efforts of civilisation to dislodge it from the Golden Horn, owes the success of its existence more perhaps to adventitious circumstances than to inherent stability. These accidental features are the strength of its capital, and the jealousy of powerful neighbours; each apprehensive of the other's aggrandisement if it should fall, and therefore anxious to bolster it up long after its very existence was an anachronism. After making due allowance, however, for these causes, the vitality of Constantinople is a conspicuous instance of what has been said.

In attempting to sketch the long contest between Russia and the nomads, which is the special phase of the struggle between East and West to which we desire to draw attention, it is necessary first to settle our nomenclature. A curious legend is still current in Central Asia to the effect that the eighth son of Japhet was called Turk, and that he had twin sons, one called Tatar (or Tartar), and the other Mongol. All these terms have been used in a most unscientific and unspecific manner, the result being a confusion almost as great as the above genealogy, if accepted, would create.

The words Turk and Mongol properly used, apply, of course, primarily to particular races, though they may be employed in a general sense when the context is a sufficient guarantee against misunderstanding. But conquering hordes have been invested with these names merely on account of the particular tribe to which the leaders belonged, with a most admirable uncertainty as to the ethnological constitution of the whole, for result. The word Mongol has been especially abused. It has been used as a generic term to include all Mongolians, and, as a specific word, for the true and the false Mongols, and also for the followers of Chingis Khan. Tartar, or 'Tatar is an appellation which has received a better treatment. It has mostly been used in the general sense and seems preferable to Scythian, and certainly to the universally condemned *Turanian*. Hereafter when we speak of Mongol we shall ordinarily refer to those hordes which, under the leadership of Mongol chiefs, founded a vast but evanescent empire. We must not allow ourselves to be confused by the too curious researches of historians. It has been suggested that Chingis Khan himself was a Turk, and it is well known that Timur, his imitator and successor, was. But it is unnecessary

to enquire closely into the parentage of these chieftains. It was as Mongol that they reigned, and we may accept them as such. The remainder of the Tartar peoples, including of course the bulk of the hordes who usually pass under the other name, are Turks. We have now a better basis for avoiding confusion in considering the details of our subject. There are many ways in which the exploits of the great typical Mongol hero, Chingis Khan, are sharply distinguished from those of the conquerors who had preceded him. A few of them have already been commented on. One point to which attention has not yet been drawn is the entire absence of the religious element. On the break up of the Kaliphate, the mission of the Prophet of Mecca was taken up with much energy by the Turks. These self-constituted propagators of Islam, carried the Koran into regions which the arms of the Arabs had never been able to reach. But the Mongols had no religion whatever when they first appeared as the founders of Asiatic empires, and hardly any civilisation, and had to imbibe both from the peoples whom they conquered. It was perhaps well for Europe that the proselytising spirit was not one of the dangers she had to fear from these nomads.

The reader will perhaps pardon us if we now review the main features in general Asiatic history, as it centres round the great landmarks of Mongol and Russian power, and try to seek in it the earliest rise of the Eastern Question. One great want of the present day, which affects us in this country very intimately, is a good general history of Asia. As it is, those who wish to study the outlines of the subject have to seek for its incidental treatment in books which aim at quite different ends. Even convenient guides to a clear view of particular periods, like that we are considering, do not exist. Mr. Haworth's great work on Mongolian history, though a signal monument of laborious industry, is undoubtedly a hard nut for any but a specialist to crack. We have to search for generalisations among a mass of details, which can have had no appreciable effect on the well-being, or even the political condition of the world. An apology, therefore, is hardly needed for recapitulating the broad results of historical research, for these cannot be too deeply impressed upon the mind. The precise date at which the renowned Chingis, Zingis, or Shingis, started on his career of conquest is difficult to fix with accuracy, but as he was born in A. D. 1163, and died in 1227, we may make a pretty near guess at it. The idea of founding a universal Tartar empire probably occurred to him while engaged in his struggles with the petty chieftains who surrounded him. His first task was to consolidate

the Mongol and Tarkish tribes in his immediate neighbourhood. From one of these, the Uighurs, he perhaps received something of culture and religion, though of a very barbarous type. He proceeded thus with a combination of absorption and conquest, to make himself a power in Mongolia, and then started with the deliberate intention of following in the steps of his European prototype. Had Chingis been completely successful, the East would indeed have revenged itself upon the West for the conquests of Alexander. But the wave of Mongolian invasion only beat on the outposts of the European state-system, and did not have even as lasting an effect as the irruptions which had preceded it. In Asia, however, the conqueror was altogether victorious. The Turkish principalities of Hia, Kara-Khitai, Kharismia or Khurezin, the remains of the Seljukian dominions, Syria, Trebizond, and Mesopotamia, as well as China, were now fused into one vast Asiatic empire, the greatest perhaps in territorial extent that the world had ever seen. We will not pause to consider which portions of this empire were actually subdued by Chingis Khan himself, and which by his sons and successors, for we wish to look at these occurrences as a whole, and an examination of details would both be tedious, and would also obscure our view of the broad results.

Three causes, in addition to his personal character, which assisted the Tartar chieftain in founding this extraordinary monument of barbarian greatness, may be briefly noticed. First, by his conquest of the Gur Khan or Great Khan of Kara-Khitai, Chingis stepped into his shoes, so to speak, and at once arrogated to his own the hegemony of the Tartar tribes. Secondly, the reduction of Mahommed of Kharismia added to the territories which had changed hands after the latter transaction, the greater part of civilised Asia. By uniting these two empires, the object of the ambitious Khan, was well nigh accomplished. Thirdly, the *Yasas*, or code of laws which is popularly ascribed to the great chieftain, was the basis of a draconian military discipline, under which the most successful army which history tells us of was marshalled for his career of conquest. A further reason for the ease with which the Tartar army overran the East is, of course, the simplicity of its habits, and the absence of commissariat difficulties. Similar characteristics, due in both cases to the Tartar blood which flows in their veins, make the Cossack and the Turk of the present day such admirable soldiers.

These wonderful events with which the thirteenth century opened, paved the way for the final and most lasting effort of the East against the West, the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. But extraordinary as has been the persistence of this

exorcism on the European state-system, the era which seated the Turk on the throne of Constantine is the precise date of the turn of the tide, when the revival of learning put an end to the possibility of Europe ever bowing before a barbarian oppressor. That "knowledge," which is so emphatically "power," was then permanently directed to the West. The fall of the effete Byzantine empire, though commonly regarded as an epoch in history, has little more than an incidental political significance, the only wonder being that it was delayed so long. It was postponed by the appearance of another Tartar, a Turk masquerading as a kinsman of the famous Chingis, the almost equally-renowned Timur; and while the East was divided against itself, the West had a brief respite from the fear of invasion.*

When the sceptre, wielded for a short period from Samarcand, had obeyed the universal law of Mongol sovereignty, the power of the nomads to become the scourge of the world had passed away. Long, however, after the possibility of a successful inroad had ceased to exist, the name of the mighty conqueror struck terror into the breasts of those foes whom he might have subdued had he lived, and a tremor passed through the heart of Europe while the Mongol was thundering at her gates, similar to that caused in the past by the Arab, and to be re-experienced in the future at the hands of the Turk. But the danger was averted, and the revenge was soon to begin. It is curious that the two great instruments of the retribution should be the countries lying to the extreme east and west of Europe. The mutual jealousies of England and Russia in carrying out the task allotted to them, which they should join in striving to accomplish in a manner worthy of so lofty a mission, is the cause of the complications of the Eastern Question. England has already seated herself on the most lasting of all the Mongol thrones, and Russia not only aspires to follow suit in Central Asia, but to re-instate the cross on the altars of St. Sophia. The question thus assumes, geographically, a two-fold phase: in the East the position of England may be described as purely self-defensive, but in Europe her policy is more aggressive, and has hitherto been successful in keeping Muscovite hands off the coveted prize of the "key of the world."

We proceed to consider the details of the gradual emancipation of Russia from the Tartar rule. As we have seen, although Europe trembled while the fury of the Mongol invasion was

* To avoid confusion the distinction between the various Tartar empires, between the sovereignty of the Turks, with which the history both opens and closes, and the intermediate Mongol kingdoms must be carefully maintained.

spending itself in her outlying provinces, the bulk of the state-system was untouched. Had there been more continuity in the new power, or, had not the deficiency of pasture turned the nomads backwards, there might have been real cause for alarm. As it was, the danger was not so great as that previous and subsequent peril from which the West was delivered by Charles Martel and John Sobieski respectively, when the enthusiasm of a religious proselytism was added to the thirst for military glory, and the Crescent, in its aggressive career, threatened to invade the dominions of the Cross. Poland and Hungary, however, were overrun by the Tartars, and Russia was completely subdued for a time. But it was not the founder of the Empire who oppressed the early years of the youngest of the European nationalities. The dominions of Chengis were divided among his four sons at his death, although for some time all were in a state of feudal subjection to the senior house. That disintegration, which has been the universal fate of Asiatic empires, was not long in following the death of the conqueror. The immediate causes were partly Ozbeg inroads, and partly, what more nearly concerns us in this place, the revolt of the provinces.

Among the semi-independent chieftainships into which the Tartar conquests were so soon differentiated, the most famous and important is that of the Kiptchak, or Golden Horde, that remarkable assemblage of tribes with a capital at Scrai on the Volga, which was the immediate conqueror and Suzerain of Russia. Nominally subordinate to the far-off court of the Grand Horde, or Great Khan, to which the Russian princes sometimes had to repair, and where they met the ambassadors of the Pope and the King of France, the Golden Horde were always virtually and soon absolutely, independent. This section of the Empire longest retained the mantle of Chengis' sovereignty. It held Russia in a more or less complete subjection for two centuries. The last decade has witnessed the consummation of the revenges, slow but sure, which the European State has taken upon its barbarian oppressor; for, to anticipate results, not only has Russia re-conquered the fragments into which the Golden Horde broke up, as Astrakhan, Kazan, and Krim, but she has also absorbed those portions of the Mongolian dominions which were seized by the Ozbegs, as Bokhara, Khokand, Siberia, Kharismia and Khiva. One by one the Central Asian Khanates have passed into the hands of their ancient subjects. One of the principal causes of this result is to be sought in the ethnological differences alluded to above, between the two peoples. While the Russians have always shown a remarkable tendency to *Russianise* and

absorb other races, there was no attempt on the part of the Mongols to *Tartarise* their subjects. The one nation being stationary, and the other progressive, and, to coin a word, assimilative, there could be little doubt as to the result of the contact. Both had a superficial resemblance, which may have led to the erroneous notions of the Russian character, started perhaps by the celebrated dictum of Napoleon. But the differences do not lie very far from the surface if we attempt to look for them. Both peoples were in the beginning a heterogeneous assemblage of tribes, officered by a small minority. With the followers of Chingis and his sons, the officers only were Mongols, and the bulk of the people Turks. But the military aristocracy, the Dronjina, under the leadership of which the Russians commenced their national life, was composed largely of Slav and Finnish chieftains, and these races formed the nucleus of the rising State.

Peculiarly prone to absorb other races, this protoplasm of a nation, so to speak, was clearly destined to increase, while the "white-bones," or hereditary rulers of the Mongolians, were as emphatically foredoomed to extinction. In proportion as the strength of the Tartar waned, that of Russia naturally increased. The Mongolian power was actually instrumental in some sort in the development of the Russian nation. The Muscovite princes were not ashamed to call in the Tartar armies to enlarge their possessions, and no doubt some intermarriage also took place, but to a very limited extent. As Mr. Wallace has well shown in his interesting chapter on this curious phase of Russian history, Russia remained Caucasian, or Slavonic, "she formed the vanguard in the cause of Slavonic emancipation, and, though the first of the Slavonic peoples to fall under the Tartar yoke, was also the first to free herself therefrom. This fact introduces another element into the European branch of the Eastern Question, which will be returned to further on.

The real history of Russia as a power in the European system dates from the reign of the Great Ivan (1533). This is, in a three-fold sense, an epoch in the annals of the country. It marks the extinction of the house of Ruric, soon however to be succeeded by the collateral branch (the Romanoffs) which now occupies the throne: from this time forward the princes of Russia took the name of Czar, or Emperor, and had a regular army and code of laws: and lastly, and most important to our subject, the Tartar supremacy came finally to an end. In shaking off the yoke, the Russian chiefs *ipso facto* succeeded to the possession of the bulk of the dominions of the Golden Horde. But the extension of Russia in the direction of Asia was postponed, while

she turned her attention to the consolidation of her European provinces, and to attacking the Tartar in his menacing position on the Bosphorus.

It has already been pointed out, that the decline of Mongol power made the supremacy of the Ottoman in the East an accomplished fact, and the very same cause brought into existence the great rival and opponent of the Turk. What has gone before will, it is hoped, make the three-fold aspect of the Russo-Turkish contest easier to comprehend. First in order comes the race antagonism which has been alluded to above, and which must have led the Russian people to look upon the Turk, not only as the disturber of Europe, but as the successor of that Tartar sovereignty under which they had so long felt their national life dulled and paralysed. Secondly, and in contradistinction to this general race-feeling, comes the special peculiarity of Russia as the leader of the Slavonic tribes, so long oppressed by Turkey. Thirdly, there is the religious element in the question. Here was a war-cry which, had the other sentiments been non-existent, was quite enough to account for the perpetually recurring attempts of Russia to expel the Turks from Europe. It was but natural, indeed, that the guardian of the exiled church of Byzantium, which in one sense represented the whole prescriptive sanctity of Christianity, should long for the time when the aggressive Crescent should be dislodged from the city where the Cross had for a brief period, nominally at least, ruled the world. If the race antagonism, as old as history, or the dream of uniting the Slavonic peoples into a homogeneous empire, were insufficient to nerve the arm of the Cossack for the glorious struggle, the enthusiasm of a new crusade would, one might imagine, rouse not only Russia, but all Christendom, in the cause of freedom, civilisation and religion. When all three motives were united, the only wonder seems to be that the attacks upon Turkey should have been so few and far between.

But the opposition which Russia has encountered in her schemes from the other Great Powers of Europe is quite as easy to comprehend as her own eagerness in carrying them out. The "balance of power" principle of itself raises in opposition all members of the state-system against any one which, whether for good or evil, seems likely to gain an accession of territory. Besides this, it was impossible for the older states of Europe to understand the youthful zeal of Russia. The age of enthusiasm, barring that phase of national selfishness which is called patriotism, had passed away, and even the cause of oppressed Christianity could hardly join two differing nations in a common enterprise. The war of sects, that hatred more deadly even,

than the more intelligible evil passions which have had so powerful an effect on the world's history, had begun, and the Latin churches could not respond to the cry of their Grecian brethren. The protectors of the Turk were not, however, without a sentimental side to their political creed, though whence the notion of representing the hideous misgovernment of Turkey in the light of a good and weak State struggling against powerful enemies arose, it is not easy to see.

But, notwithstanding all this opposition (in which England has, of course, always played a conspicuous part), the attempts of Russia to fulfil her self-imposed mission have been incessant and persistent. To use a Hibernicism, she had tried to seize Constantinople even before she had begun to exist at all—as a nation, that is.

During the earlier portion of her political life, the contest with her great rivals, Poland and Sweden, prevented Russia from appearing as an aggressive State. But she rarely missed an opportunity of endeavouring to carry out the object which lay nearest her heart, and with her development as a power in Europe we note the commencement of the political complications which have been the bane of the British Foreign Office for so long. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the history of the various attempts made by Russia to possess herself of the "sick-man's" heritage, as they must be fresh in the memory of all who studied the daily papers during the war of 1878. The review will show that Russia was not always alone in her efforts to dismember the Turkish possessions, having even been assisted in the task by England. But taking the policy of the Great Powers towards the question as a whole, it comes to this, that, since they cannot agree as to the successor of the Sultan, it is necessary to prevent his ejection from Constantinople.

Unable for various reasons to hope for the transfer to herself of the Ottoman dominions, Russia has been forced to narrow her views to the subordinate aims of Slavonic emancipation, and the delivery of the Christian provinces from the Moslem rule. Even if the latter purpose may be viewed as virtually accomplished by the last war, the Slav question is still in hopeless confusion (a confusion which is partly a retribution for the partition of Poland), and generally the whole European policy of Russia is cramped by the opposition of the Powers. It is curious to note—and here lies the special interest of the subject for us in India—how systematically Russian statesmanship, foiled in Europe, has deliberately turned to the East for compensation. The ink with which the peace of Paris was signed was scarcely dry before the deliberate annexation of the Central Asian Khanates

commenced. Khokand was the first to fall, then Bokhara was stripped of half her territory, including the metropolis of Timur, and reduced, almost to the condition of a dependent State. Khiva was annexed in spite of the Machiavellian disclaimers of the Russian Foreign Office. Again, the latest designs upon Turkey had scarcely been circumvented by Lord Baconfield's masterly policy (*quoad* the purpose aimed at) of rousing the house of Hapsburg to reassert itself in the arena of politics, before the campaign against the Turkomans was planned and carried out. Russia set diligently about the consolidation and improvement of her Central Asiatic dominions, and in the opinion of many observers is beginning already to look out for fresh conquests.

Having briefly reviewed its past history, we proceed in conclusion, to consider the present condition of the Eastern Question, and the possibilities of a final settlement. First, in Europe, the ethnic problem is still undecided. Though one of the "legacies" of the century is supposed to be a vindication of the right of nations to be freed from alien government, it is to be feared the principle, even if universally recognised, is far from being universally acted upon. Again, though the religious difficulty has made vast strides towards a satisfactory settlement, it cannot be regarded as finally disposed of. Lastly, the old anomaly of the presence of the Tartar on European shores still exercises its disturbing influence on the tranquillity of Eastern Europe. It will be in vain to hope for a lasting peace until the whole subject is set at rest for ever.

And with the object of accomplishing an end so clearly for the common good, it seems strange that the Great Powers should be unable to combine. It appears high time that, to avoid diverting so much capital and labor from the world's great work of production in the maintenance of those huge armaments, which in France, Germany and Russia, continually menace the peace of Europe, some international *modus vivendi* should be discovered, under which the wars unfortunately necessitated by the still unregenerate condition of humanity, could be carried out by allied forces. Such a project cannot surely be reproached with being Utopian, in an age which has actually witnessed the first crude attempt at international arbitration.

Applied to the Eastern Question, the plan suggested would take the form of a preconcerted arrangement among the Powers as to what the final settlement should be, and a general alliance for effecting the same, if needs be, by force. If war were necessary in the last resort, it would, under such conditions, be more crushing, but in reality more merciful; its immediate

consequences might be graver, but the seeds of future disturbance would not be sown. No false sympathy would be aroused, a sentiment which, it is to be feared, has usually had too much influence in determining the question of which side to support in a war. Witness the diametrically opposite effects produced by the events of Scio, and those of Sinope. While the former catastrophe had, it was thought, permanently alienated the sympathies of Europe from Turkey, the sentimental nonsense about protecting a weak State from the clutches of the oppressor, was re-aroused by the latter. While the one outrage made the liberty of Greece a certainty, the other, by supporting the Russophobia of the hour, made the bondage of the Balkan principalities a necessity for a further term.

But it is in Asia that the Eastern Question most interests us and we return to it after this little digression to the West. Here, as what has preceded shows, we find events have been marching with far greater rapidity than in Europe. The Russian boundary is now within comparatively easy distance of our own. As we either could not or would not raise a finger to check the annexation of Turkestan, it is quite useless to speculate on what is now beyond the reach of recall. We are brought face to face with the ultimate phase of the "neutral zone" policy, which has been so fully discussed by writers on the subject, that it would be superfluous to dwell on it. It will probably very soon be put to the practical test of experience.

There is, however, one possible attitude of England towards the problem which has not been fully considered. We hope that nothing that has gone before will have been interpreted as complaint or regret at the progress of the Russian arms, at least in Asia. We imagine that no one who at all comprehends what those abominable Khanates were, will do anything but rejoice over their downfall. Nothing but the most unmitigated selfishness could possibly wish to maintain such unsightly blots on the fair face of the earth, as these strongholds of oppression, and misgovernment were. We cannot view with any feeling but of satisfaction the successful campaigns which have swept away the Tartar power from our immediate neighbourhood. Happy for the well-being of the world that the application for aid of each tyrant in succession was rejected by the "masterly inactivity" which swayed the viceregal councils when they were made. Not the least is this of the many debts which India owes to its Civilian Governor-General.

But why should it be impossible for us to go further, and join with our rival in the performance of the task which Providence has committed to both our hands? What nobler revenge could be had for the barbarian inroads than a continuation and consummation of the

civilising mission which has led England to India, and Russia to Turkestan? It is this deplorable rivalry and jealousy between the two Powers which is just as truly a standing menace to the peace of Asia, and even of the world, as the complications of race and religious animosity are to that of Eastern Europe. United, we might carry the light of civilisation and Christianity into the darkest haunts of barbarism; but if each continues to thwart, or attempt to thwart, the designs of the other as at present, the end must one day or another be a fearful internecine struggle, the result of which may be to paralyse the power of both for a time at least, and to lay Asia once more prostrate at the feet of the first ruthless destroyer who may arise, phoenix-like, out of the ashes of the conflagration.

And if we will look on into the future, it will be seen that we are more than ever called upon for combination instead of dissension. It is useless for us to fold our arms and shut ourselves within the (comparatively) narrow sphere which we fill at present. We cannot thus stand still; we must go on in the course on which we have entered, or retire and leave the task to worthier hands. We may have partially civilised India, but countries where light has not yet penetrated surround Hindustan; Burmah, Thibet, and Afghanistan, have still to be taught that individual states, no more than individual men, can be permitted to injure collective interests by a selfish policy. Besides the return of the Caucasian to the scene of his old supremacy, alluded to in our introductory remarks, has not yet been fully accomplished. It is a circumstance worthy of the closest attention by England that the very country which intervenes between India and her Mediterranean garrisons, and through which her land communications with Hindustan must pass, still groans under the Tartar yoke. The blight of Moslem misgovernment still hangs over some of the fairest lands of the earth, and among these are the sacred spots endeared to Christian Europe by the holiest of associations. There would be something peculiarly appropriate in a protectorate, somewhat of the same sort as is extended to Egypt now, of a portion at least of those Holy Lands where our lion-hearted Plantagenet king once fought with the Saracen. Something more definite than vague remonstrance with Turkish maladministration in Asia Minor certainly ought to come of our present position in Cyprus and on the Nile. The days of Tartar supremacy are numbered, and the final triumph of the Caucasian cannot be far off. It is for England and Russia, who hold the fate of Asia in their hands, to decide whether they will combine to make the anarchy, which must otherwise ensue when the inevitable catastrophe comes, impossible, or whether by a continuation of their selfish rivalry, they will defeat the

great purpose which it is evidently their joint mission to carry out. If our fleets swept the Sea of Oman, and the route of the Euphrates Valley Railway were in our hands, we might contentedly allow Russia to work her pleasure in Persia, and might save the money spent in the support of disorder in Afghanistan.

Views of this sort will doubtless sound shocking to ultra-humanitarian ears. That England should join with an aggressive power in a career which may possibly involve conquest and annexation is, no doubt, a somewhat startling proposal. The majority of Englishmen are, however, ignorant of Russia, of her real aims, and of the nature of her rule. She is, in short, misunderstood. She has rid the world of some of its most tyrannical oppressors, and has been credited with wishing to imitate them! A similar inversion of the truth is observable in the ideas which are now so sedulously diffused by the *so-called* Liberals of the present day, as if a narrow self-regarding policy, refusing to look into the future, or beyond the bounds of its own little Pedlington, can be rightly so designated! Nothing is so heart-rending in the Radical programme, as the persistent proclamation of the non-interference doctrine, for which is claimed a noble disinterestedness instead of its real causes, fear, and the utter inability to perceive what to do! The policeman might as well fling away his baton, and the schoolmaster his birch, as for a great nation to whom power has been committed, to refuse to use it in the truest interests of humanity. It is time for those who wish to see wrong-doing controlled by the strong arm of might all over the world, to show up this mistaken policy in its true light. No good can ever come of a refusal to carry out so sacred a trust as that given into English hands. And for those whose principles would, if carried out to their full extent, plunge the world into the same anarchy, confusion, and misery as have already resulted in those localities where they have been tried, to pose as well-wishers of their race, is too barefaced an imposition to be any longer tolerated. The subject we have been considering furnishes a good illustration of this. It is time for us to remodel our relations with those nations, the youngest in the European family, to whom we have given examples in the past, but from whom we have much to learn in the present.* Combination, instead of jealous rivalry, and a fearless acceptance of responsibility, constitute the only true solution, both in Europe and Asia, of the Eastern Question.

* Both Germany and Russia are continually appealing to us by their acts, to abandon our isolation and accept the lesson of the day. The principles involved, though of universal applicability, are peculiarly needful as the basis of the attitude of England in the crisis which every day draws nearer.

ART. VIII.—OBSERVATIONS ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL.

THE demand for political power by the educated natives of India has given rise to much discussion and division of opinion. It seems to me that in the course of this discussion sufficient distinction has not been made between what may be called local self-government, and what may be called political power. Broadly speaking, under the latter head, may be included all questions relating to the treatment of the subject by the State, and the interpretation of what is justice, and what is civilization; and under the second, all common action among the people in order to promote the general welfare, and to bring about that condition which the State and the best public opinion declare to be essential to civilization.

The cause of the present disagreement between European and native opinion has been the demand of the educated natives to exercise more political power, and to make the measure of local self-government subservient to this end. Now it is distinctly the educated Hindus that are clamouring to be considered as the leaders of their countrymen; and it is said by themselves and their advocates that, even under the Mahomedans, Hindus exercised administrative powers and possessed great influence; and this is true. Though the Hindu social system had decayed, and all the privileges of the aristocracy had been turned to abuse, yet the upper classes, by their intelligence and astuteness, rendered themselves useful, and so rose to great importance. But in doing so they disconnected themselves more and more from their humbler brethren; and the same has continued under our rule. But in order to give them any valid claim to represent the people generally, they would have to show that they are in sympathy with them, and will be accepted by them as their representatives, and it may be added that, over and above this, we should have to see in them such virtues as fit men to lead and rule others. But with regard to their virtues all Anglo-Indian experience is to the effect that the upper classes have been debauched by the possession of power and privileges. The whole history of our conquest of India is an illustration of the weakness and incapacity of the upper classes, and we cannot claim to have effected a reformation during our term of empire.

First, let us examine the condition and attitude of the upper classes here in Bengal. For the most part between the state

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and the body of the people are either only effete landholders of the old school, or new ones who are entirely out of sympathy with their tenants, men who amassed the purchase-money either by trade, service, or the profession of the law. As far as the writer's experience of Bengal goes, the want of sympathy between the upper and lower classes is almost beyond description. The system of caste has much to answer for in this; but, over and above, there is a hardness of heart, and contempt of the lower orders seen in those who have risen. Each class feels itself the natural enemy of the other. The landowner or office-holder is inclined to regard those placed under him merely as objects from whom is to be gained his wealth or comfort. Between Mahommedan rich and poor, powerful and weak, I scarcely think there exists the same isolation; for with them the community of religion is a bond which does not exist in Hinduism. In the latter there is the gulf of caste fixed impassable for ever, producing arrogance on one side, and servility on the other. The masses are low caste, and this intensifies the distinction between rich and poor. There is then the case of parts like Eastern Bengal, where the masses are nearly entirely Mahommedan, while the upper classes are mainly Hindu. Here and there are Hindu communities, and the people in them are milder and more supple. These deferentially accept the lower status that their religion and the custom of centuries has given them. They even readily submit to be oppressed, whether by Zemindar or Government official: for "oppression is the badge of all their tribe." But the Mahommedans, as elsewhere, are made of sterner stuff. Whole villages are Mahommedan, and the headmen are generally of serious and calm demeanour, taking a practical and determined view of life. In the neighbourhood many possess great influence; and their religious and social affairs are managed, on the whole, with great credit. But beyond this village and rural area they have no outlook. Their only contact with the world is through their Zemindar, generally a Hindu, or his factor: or, if they go into court, their affairs fall into the hands of a Hindu pleader. It is these Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal who serve as lascars on board steamers, and they are adventurous and hardy in navigating the great rivers. This peasantry, though often turbulent in their land affairs, are a free and easy and sympathetic people. Prone to the grossest vices, they yet have certain kindly virtues, and are, on the whole, industrious. They are yet rude and somewhat barbarous, and with no capacity for civilization in its finer forms; but for all that possessing freely a desire for, and appreciation of, justice. They may be coarse and often brutal: yet they are fairly endowed intellectually, and are natural in their modes

of feeling : not, as many of the Hindu castes, with their feelings warped and hardened by an artificial system.

Now the upper classes of this rough and hardy peasantry are chiefly Hindus, and most of the land management is performed by the same race, their versatile and lively intellect commanding a ready use. These Hindu zemindars of Lower Bengal and the upper classes generally, while they are of gentle and refined disposition, have the most narrow and contracted sympathies. They make kind and indulgent parents, but often cruel and hard landlords. Industrious and parsimonious in their business affairs, they are foolishly lavish in religious and family matters. They will harry their tenants to put 10 per cent. on their rent-roll, either by the law, or in spite of the law, and will spend a year's income on a child's wedding, because the family pride demands it. They are often agreeable and estimable companions to meet and discourse with, but to expect much help from them in public affairs is fruitless. Their essential and fatal fault is that as a party they are foreigners in feeling to the people at large. There is absolutely no mutual trust or confidence. And, moreover, they are often, especially in Eastern Bengal, foreigners in race : the word Bengáli to the peasantry denoting a foreigner. There is also much absenteeism, and much harshness and oppression is practised in the names of benevolent gentlemen living in Calcutta.

For the above reasons the upper classes of Bengal, and they may be described generally as the upper and educated classes, are wholly unfit, on the ground of want of sympathy and of moral qualities, to be entrusted as representatives of the people with a large measure of power. Yet, on the other hand, unless in some way we give the people through their representatives more power, we are in danger of arresting all self-development, and shall soon have a useless plutocracy, and a discontented aristocracy of talent. Merely to hand over power to this present aristocracy is impossible. On the other hand, they have now undoubtedly some political influence, and, if the tranquillity and peaceful progress of India is to be studied, they must be considered. The liberal ideas of the present day require that they should be given some share of the government of the country. But the liberalism that sees an extension of popular rights in giving to them a large share, is, I believe, altogether deceived. Home politicians may think that the two principles of Conservatism and Liberalism are represented respectively by Europeans and upper class natives ; and that, acting within certain limits, the more power the latter obtain, the more will liberalism be advanced. This, however, is a mistake. There is certainly a Liberal, and a Conservative manner of treating the upper classes in their claims to share the honours and responsibilities

of government ; but in the great cause of India, her delivery from the effects of the despotism and oppression of centuries, so that her people may become prosperous, it is the English administrator who represents freedom and advance, and the upper classes who desire the preservation of the social *status quo*. They are liberal and progressive only in desire for power to be handed over to them ; but in bringing about the essential preliminary of raising the middle and lower orders, and freeing them from social and economical injustice, they will always be conservative and obstructive. And they must be so in virtue of their existence: not that individuals among them may not be truly liberal, but that their self-interest and their tendencies must be in the opposite direction.

Now to entrust them as a class with power, before there has been a sufficient development of the people, will be merely to hasten on a premature and abortive national existence. They will then even become a political danger, for, after they have got a certain strength, they will *demand* more power : and to refuse this demand, as we must, will entail rough measures likely to destroy the whole constitution. Such a dispute might arise about a land bill, where the privileges of the upper classes were touched, for it is notorious that to such ameliorative measures they would be unanimously hostile.

So much for their claims to possess political power. That they should enter upon the duties and responsibilities of local self-government along with other elected representatives of the people, is a different matter. It is a common topic of congratulation to expatiate on the rapid strides that India has made in civilization, material and intellectual, during the century that the English dominion has lasted. But I fear there is another side to the shield. Has the material progress at least been as great as it ought to have been ? Will the progress made in India compare with that made in Europe and America ? In all civilised countries the last fifty years have seen the great discoveries in the arts and sciences placed within the reach of the mass of the people. Nearly every town in Europe and America is in full possession of these advantages. In India, except at the Presidency towns and a few others, the natives live much as their ancestors did, and in the smaller towns and villages, probably, exactly so. In their long journeys it is true they have their railways : but in the ordinary concerns of life they would lose little if all the vaunted discoveries of the age never existed. There are hundreds of square miles densely populated, where there are no substantial buildings, no roads except embankments, no railways, no canals, no agricultural improvements : in fact, no invested capital of any sort. We cannot

believe that our "belligerent civilization" can effect no good of the material kind for the welfare of the people: that, though it can give them equal justice, educate them, and even put good food and clothes in their sight, it cannot enable them to purchase the latter good things by increasing the efficiency of their labour as it has done elsewhere in the world. But it is an undoubted fact that, for some reason or other, in Bengal at least, civilization is proceeding with halting step. The Lieutenant-Governor, a short time ago, visited the famous town of Kishnaghur, and had to tell its assembled representatives that he observed no improvements in it since he was last there twelve or fourteen years ago; and probably the period that had elapsed without improvement might have been doubled or trebled. Now I doubt if the same statement could be made about any towns, or at least about many, in England or any other civilized country, yet the writer knows many towns in Lower Bengal where the sanitary and general state is probably no better than it was a century ago, except as regards a few Police regulations affecting nuisances. The rural towns and villages cannot have improved, for in every thing distinguishing civilization from barbarism they could not be worse. They are still overgrown with jungle, have no water-supply, no roads, and no conservancy. The paths are latrines, and the tanks for the supply of water cattle-ponds. The medical art is unknown to them, and endemic diseases rage unchecked. It is of course mere repetition of a truism to say that their houses, their cattle, and their agricultural implements are the same, and yet Sir Fitzjames Stephen, in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, urges that our "belligerent civilization" is doing wonders, and that there is no need of any local self-government. But had Sir Fitzjames Stephen actually seen our "belligerent civilization" at work, he would not have been so sanguine of its powers; for, as far as its operations concern material progress, the attack in each district, containing one to two millions of inhabitants, is confined to a Collector giving, say, 1-10th of his time to this department of his duties, and a District Engineer, either native or European. Except these two hardly any one in the district knows aught of the conduct of the warfare.

Now, is the vast and rapid progress made in Europe and America owing altogether to the race and character of the inhabitants? It is most certainly so to a great extent: but, on the other hand, the excessive rate of improvement in England and the United States must be attributed to the management of their local affairs by the people themselves. In England, each town, and each Local Board area is an independent agency, raising capital and expending it, expressing a desire for local improvements,

and devising means of carrying them out. The same is the case in America. Each State, and in some way each township, forms a local government. But for the separate and independent action of each State in starting works, the United States would never have seen such a wonderful development as has taken place. In many cases States raised such loans that the mere interest exceeded their income. Consequently there were crashes and failures; but still improvements went on, and commerce and industry followed in their track. Human energies were awakened, and wealth accumulated. And so it might be in India if local self-government once interested the people. Capital might be attracted, and the mechanical arts be introduced and developed. In England it is not unusual for towns to have raised loans of ten times their income. In India, on the other hand, except at the Presidency towns, loans are quite the exception. May not this refusal to raise capital be one of the reasons why progress is so slow? Capital can be borrowed at 5 per cent., but mechanical means will often double man's power of production. Of course the difficulty lies in the proper application of capital; but does it not seem incredible either that in India there are so few objects of profitable investment, or, that no one can be found to invest it intelligently? On *a-priori* grounds, both of these statements do seem incredible. In Egypt, under most gross mismanagement, a proportionately much greater amount of capital has been spent, and it is said not unprofitably. In Bengal, Government has tried in vain to induce zemindars to take public money, and drain and otherwise improve their estates: but there are many difficulties, and their permissive acts have remained nearly a dead letter; so that capital has flowed in, neither for public nor for private improvements.

If, then, centralisation and officialism, if they have not failed, have fallen far short of what might have been expected, it is necessary to try real decentralisation, and, as far as possible, real self-government. In removing the initiation and sanction of provincial works from the Imperial to the Local government, the first step in decentralisation was taken. In consequence the English officials in the local governments have begun thoroughly to interest themselves in the development of their charge. But when Bengal contains a population of sixty millions and an area of 150,588 square miles, how can such an interest be often more than theoretical? And then, again, no attempt has yet been made to consult the people really concerned. Now, beneath the Province is the Division, and here begins a real identity of interest between all the people living in its limits; for the divisions coincide more or less with great river systems,

having water and land routes more or less common. Again languages and races are so grouped. Why then should not the first step of decentralisation be to the division or commissioner ship? Let each have its Central Board composed of delegates from the Local Boards, and let them have real power, subject to necessary checks, to raise and spend money. But it is not political power they should have. The Local Boards and Corporation of England even have no political powers: they manage their purely local business, and that is all; and so it might be with such Central Boards. Their advantage will be, that whereas each Local Board could not pay for good superintendence alone, in common with the other Boards of the Division they could do so. The Central Board would distribute agencies that must be kept in common, and collect and spend money that must be spent for the good of the Division.

The Commissioner might well be Chairman of the Central Board, while the Local Boards elected their own. The Collector could effectively watch and control as the representative of government, invested perhaps with powers of veto, pending reference. The difference between the chairmanship of a Commissioner and that of a Collector or sub-divisional officer is very great as affecting independence. The former exercises no direct executive power and would be dealing with non-officials of a very select kind, who, moreover, would often possess better local knowledge than himself: whereas the Collector, in being the head of the police, and head revenue officer, is the very essence of the executive, and the sub-divisional officer only slightly less so. The Commissioner would in such a position become a real head of administration, and less a mere checker of reports and returns as at present. The Divisional Board would financially control him, while he in his turn, as a prudent governor, could often lead and instruct his Council. Surely such a position and such duties would be preferable to the intensely bureaucratic office he now holds.

This scheme of Central Boards for the divisions might also have the effect of inducing Government in other ways to further decentralise the administration. At present, Calcutta is the Capital of Bengal, as London is of England: it is the head-quarters of every department, and is especially so with reference to public justice, education, and public works: and it is even so for sanitation, for, though it seems incredible, there is only one inspecting officer for the whole of Bengal and its sixty millions of people. In consequence of this concentration, all the talent and much of the wealth gravitates to Calcutta as the seat of a centralized government. It might have been thought that this would have developed art, science and literature, as has been the case at

other great political centres: but it has not. On the other hand, it has not failed to produce sickly and sentimental political ideas, essentially theory as divorced from practice. The young graduate who thunders forth politics in the press or on the platform has no constituents to keep him to his bearings, and has no practical experience of the trials and difficulties of the people. He is always in opposition and never in office. If these same men were brought nearer the scene, and made to work with men of action, their eccentricities and extravagances would disappear as mists before the sun.

Again, we complain of the richer and educated natives in the Mofussil living idle and useless lives. For them to go into their sadder station is often only to go "where darkness spreads her jealous wings," as much as in their own villages; for it is little more than the principal seat of unscrupulous litigation, and of conspiring attorneys. There is also the Magistrate's Court, and for want of some better excitement, the zemindar often has a case there, too. Is it a wonder, then, that there is in Lower Bengal so much of two classes of zemindars: (1) a refined and educated class, who live in Calcutta: (2) an ignorant and coarse class, who live on their estates. Has not the system of centralisation something to answer for in this? London succeeds in England, but America has no London; Germany has none; and though France, as being more a commercial country, has such a centre in Paris, she seems to suffer from it. Neither again has Russia. May not, therefore, the bad look-out that Lower Bengal presents be partly accounted for in this way? It is well known that much of the social and agrarian wretchedness of Ireland has sprung from absenteeism. The landlords and tenants easily get out of sympathy, or, if not, never acquire it; and this constant dragging of litigation down to Calcutta, and the so frequent residence there of landlords must undoubtedly tend to separate them. In a commercial country land can be treated like ordinary property: but in an essentially agricultural one, like Bengal, it is otherwise; and affection and sentiment will always play an important part. A country whose surplus produce supports a number of educated and rich people is undoubtedly entitled to their residence. It would be found in Bengal, as in Ireland, that if all the landlords lived near or on their estates, improvement and civilization would be much helped on. Their very expenditure on necessities and luxuries would go far to start the industrial means of supplying them. They would then be used in a greater degree by the people generally, and as with a rolling snow-ball each increase would help to swell the additions.

It seems most certainly to me that much of the restlessness and discontent in agrarian matters in Bengal is owing to the

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excessive centralisation at Calcutta. There is a reason why the government of sixty millions should put their jails, their post-office, and deed-registration under one management at Calcutta. But why should the court, to which every case, either civil or criminal, of the least importance must eventually go, be there also? In consequence the Mofussil offers no attraction, for it is well known that the seat of the principal courts of justice is always the centre of learning, riches and intelligence. America is conspicuously teaching us, and other countries hardly less so, that the lawyers are the leaders of a people. They are the only class who understand and touch society at every point, and consequently are most fitted both to represent them and conduct their affairs. I fear that, while Calcutta remains the place where all the lucrative business of law is carried on, the Mofussil will never have healthy local self-government. Throw back, then, the lawyers and their rich clients to the Mofussil by establishing in each division appellate courts, final on all questions of fact, and the demand for improvement will everywhere assume very different proportions. It will then soon be no longer a scandal that while Calcutta has an Exhibition, and can show the world that she has a part in its finest civilization, the country under her rule is for the most part in the depths of barbarism.

It must be remembered, too, that lawyers are now fast becoming great landholders. From Calcutta being such a home to them, they are increasing the number of absentees, and so rendering agrarian matters more difficult. Living in the metropolis to a landlord means a desire to collect rent rigidly, which is spent on luxuries. This is a repetition of landlordism in Ireland. By real decentralisation, then, drive back as I have said the rich and powerful to their landed property, compel them by self-interest to help forward local improvements, and then there is some hope of the success of self-government. Otherwise the rich and talented will remain ever ready to agitate and talk sedition; ready, indeed, to be silenced by Government patronage; but never ready to go to their estates, and, by living amongst those for whom they exist, to bring about peace and prosperity. When educated young Bengal has thus learnt to live among his own people, and make their wants his wants, he will in time become their true representative. A nation then may be developed; at present there is none. As the educated natives are not true leaders, we cannot hand over to them our political power; and if we did, they could not keep it. Their own peasantry would often be the first to rise up and trample them under foot; and it is only the moderating hand of British authority that now keeps each of the two classes in its place.

ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT. *

(Independent Section.)

UNLIKE the ordinary consciousness, the religious consciousness is concerned with that which lies beyond the sphere of sense. A brute thinks only of things which can be touched, seen, heard, tasted, etc. ; and the like is true of the untaught child, the deaf-mute, and the lowest savage. But the developing man has thoughts about existences which he regards as usually inaudible, intangible, invisible ; and yet which he regards as operative upon him. What suggests this notion of agencies transcending perception ? How do these ideas concerning the supernatural evolve out of ideas concerning the natural ? The transition cannot be sudden ; and an account of the genesis of religion must begin by describing the steps through which the transition takes place.

The ghost-theory exhibits these steps quite clearly. We are shown that the mental differentiation of invisible and intangible beings from visible and tangible beings progresses slowly and unobtrusively. In the fact that the other-self, supposed to wander in dreams, is believed to have actually done and seen whatever was dreamed—in the fact that the other-self when going away at death, but expected presently to return, is conceived as a double equally material with the original ; we see that the supernatural agent in its primitive form diverges very little from the natural agent—is simply the original man with some added powers of going about secretly and doing good or evil. And the fact that when the double of the dead man ceases to be dreamed about by those who knew him, his non-appearance in dreams is held to imply that he is finally dead, shows that these earliest supernatural agents have but a temporary existence : the first tendencies to a permanent consciousness of the supernatural prove abortive.

In many cases no higher degree of differentiation is reached. The ghost-population, recruited by deaths on the one side but on

* This article will eventually form the closing chapter of "Ecclesiastical Institutions"—Part VI. of the *Principles of Sociology*. The statements concerning matters of fact in the first part of it are based on the contents of preceding chapters. Evidence for nearly all of them, however, may also be found in Part I of the *Principles of Sociology*, already published. Mr. Herbert Spencer writes : "This article will be published on the 1st of January in England, America, France, Germany, Italy, and perhaps elsewhere. It has occurred to me that as there is in India a considerable amount of advanced opinion, some interest, and perhaps other effect, might be produced by simultaneous publication of the article there."

the other side losing its members as they cease to be recollected and dreamed about, does not increase ; and no individuals included in it come to be recognized through successive generations as established supernatural powers. Thus the Unkulunkulu, or old-old one, of the Zulus, the father of the race, is regarded as finally or completely dead ; and there is propitiation only of ghosts of more recent date. But where circumstances favour the continuance of sacrifices at graves, witnessed by members of each new generation who are told about the dead and transmit the tradition, there eventually arises the conception of a permanently-existing ghost or spirit. A more marked contrast in thought between supernatural beings and natural beings is thus established. There simultaneously results a great increase in the number of those supposed supernatural beings, since the aggregate of them is now continually added to ; and there is a strengthening tendency to think of them as everywhere around, and as causing all unusual occurrences. .

Differences among the ascribed powers of ghosts soon arise. They naturally follow from the observed differences among the powers of the living individuals. Hence it results that while the propitiations of ordinary ghosts are made only by their descendants, it comes occasionally to be thought prudent to propitiate also the ghosts of the more dreaded individuals, even though they have no claims of blood. Quite early there thus begin those grades of supernatural beings which eventually become so strongly marked. .

Habitual wars, which more than all other causes initiate these first differentiations, go on to initiate further and more decided ones. For with those compoundings of small social aggregates into greater ones, and re-compounding of these into still greater, which war effects, with the multiplying gradations of power among living men, there, of course, arises the conception of multiplying gradations of power among their ghosts. Thus in course of time are formed the conceptions of the great ghosts or gods, the more numerous secondary ghosts or demi-gods, and so on downwards—a pantheon : there being still, however, no essential distinction of kind ; as we see in the calling of ordinary ghosts *manes*-gods by the Romans and *elohim* by the Hebrews. Moreover, repeating as the other life in the other world does the life in this world, in its needs, occupations, and social organization, there arises not only a differentiation of grades among supernatural beings in respect of their powers, but also in respect of their characters and kinds of activity. There come to be local gods and gods reigning over this or that order of phenomena ; there come to be good and evil spirits of various qualities, and where there has

been by conquest a superposing of societies one upon another, each having its own system of ghost-derived beliefs, there results an involved combination of such beliefs, constituting a mythology.

Of course, ghosts primarily being doubles like the originals in all things; and gods (when not the living members of a conquering race) being doubles of the more powerful men; it results that they, too, are originally no less human than ordinary ghosts in their physical characters, their passions, and their intelligences. Like the doubles of the ordinary dead, they are supposed to consume the flesh, blood, bread, wine, given to them: at first literally, and later in a more spiritual way by consuming the essences of them. They not only appear as visible and tangible persons, but they enter into conflicts with men, are wounded, suffer pain: the sole distinction being that they have miraculous powers of healing and consequent immortality. Here, indeed, there needs a qualification; for not only do various peoples hold that the gods die a first death (as naturally happens where they are the members of a conquering race, called gods because of their superiority), but, as in the case of Pan, it is supposed, even among the cultured, that there is a second and final death of a god, like that second and final death of a ghost supposed among existing savages. With advancing civilization the divergence of the supernatural being from the natural being becomes more decided. There is nothing to check the gradual de-materialization of the ghost and of the god; and this de-materialization is insensibly furthered in the effort to reach consistent ideas of supernatural action: the god ceases to be tangible, and later, he ceases to be visible or audible. Along with this differentiation of physical attributes from those of humanity, there goes on more slowly the differentiation of mental attributes. The god of the savage, represented as having intelligence scarcely if at all greater than that of the living man, is deluded with ease. Even the gods of the semi-civilized are deceived, make mistakes, repent of their plans; and only in course of time does there arise the conception of unlimited vision and universal knowledge. The emotional nature simultaneously undergoes a parallel transformation. The grosser passions, originally conspicuous and carefully ministered to by devotees, gradually fade, leaving only the passions less related to corporeal satisfactions; and eventually these, too, become partially de-humanized.

These ascribed characters of deities are continually adapted and re-adapted to the needs of the social state. During the militant phase of activity, the chief god is conceived as holding insubordination the greatest crime, as implacable in anger, as merciless in punishment; and any alleged attributes of a milder kind occupy but

small space in the social consciousness. But where militancy declines and the harsh despotic form of government appropriate to it is gradually qualified by the form appropriate to industrialism, the fore-ground of the religious consciousness is increasingly filled with those ascribed traits of the divine nature which are congruous with the ethics of peace: divine love, divine forgiveness, divine mercy, are now the characteristics enlarged upon.

To perceive clearly the effects of mental progress and changing social life, thus stated in the abstract, we must glance at them in the concrete. If, without foregone conclusions, we contemplate the traditions, records, and monuments of the Egyptians, we see that out of their primitive ideas of gods, brute or human, there were evolved spiritualized ideas of gods, and finally of a god; until the priesthoods of later times, repudiating the earlier ideas, described them as corruptions: being swayed by the universal tendency to regard the first state as the highest—a tendency traceable down to the theories of existing theologians and mythologists. Again, if putting aside speculations, and not asking what historical value the *Iliad* may have, we take it simply as indicating the early Greek notion of Zeus, and compare this with the notion contained in the Platonic dialogues; we see that Greek civilization had greatly modified (in the better minds, at least) the purely anthropomorphic conception of him: the lower human attributes being dropped and the higher ones transfigured. Similarly, if we contrast the Hebrew God described in primitive traditions, manlike in appearance, appetites and emotions, with the Hebrew God as characterized by the prophets, there is shown a widening range of power along with a nature increasingly remote from that of man. And on passing to the conceptions of him which are now entertained, we are made aware of an extreme transfiguration. By a convenient obli-viousness, a deity who in early times is represented as hardening men's hearts so that they may commit punishable acts, and as employing a lying spirit to deceive them, comes to be mostly thought of as an embodiment of virtues transcending the highest we can imagine.

Thus, recognizing the fact that in the primitive human mind there exists neither religious idea nor religious sentiment, we find that in the course of social evolution and the evolution of intelligence accompanying it, there are generated both the ideas and sentiments which we distinguish as religious; and that through a process of causation clearly traceable, they traverse those stages which have brought them, among civilized races, to their present forms.

And now what may we infer will be the evolution of religious

ideas and sentiments throughout the future? On the one hand, it is irrational to suppose that the changes which have brought the religious consciousness to its present form will suddenly cease. On the other hand, it is irrational to suppose that the religious consciousness, naturally generated as we have seen, will disappear and leave an unfilled gap. Manifestly it must undergo further changes; and however much changed it must continue to exist. What then are the transformations to be expected? If we reduce the process above delineated to its lowest terms, we shall see our way to an answer.

As pointed out in *First Principles*, § 96, Evolution is throughout its course habitually modified by that Dissolution which eventually undoes it: the changes which become manifest being usually but the differential results of opposing tendencies towards integration and disintegration. Rightly to understand the genesis and decay of religious systems, and the probable future of those now existing, we must take this truth into account. During those earlier changes by which there is created a hierarchy of gods, demi-gods, manes-gods, and spirits of various kinds and ranks, Evolution goes on with but little qualification. The consolidated mythology produced, while growing in the mass of supernatural beings composing it, assumes increased definiteness in the arrangement of its parts and the attributes of its members. But the antagonist Dissolution eventually gains predominance. The spreading recognition of natural causation conflicts with this mythological evolution, and insensibly weakens those of its beliefs which are most at variance with advancing knowledge. Demons and the secondary divinities presiding over divisions of Nature become less thought of as the phenomena ascribed to them are more commonly observed to follow a constant order; and hence these minor components of the mythology slowly dissolve away. At the same time, with growing supremacy of the great god heading the hierarchy, there goes increasing ascription to him of actions which were before distributed among numerous supernatural beings: there is integration of power. While in proportion as there arises the consequent conception of an omnipotent and omnipresent deity, there is a gradual fading of his alleged human attributes: dissolution begins to affect the supreme personality in respect of ascribed form and nature.

Already, as we have seen, this process has in the more advanced societies, and especially among their higher members, gone to the extent of merging all minor supernatural powers in one supernatural power; and already this one supernatural power has, by what Mr. Fiske aptly calls de-anthropomorphization,

lost the grosser attributes of humanity. If things hereafter are to follow the same general course as heretofore, we must infer that this dropping of human attributes will continue. Let us ask what positive changes are hence to be expected.

Two factors must unite in producing them. There is the development of those higher sentiments which no longer tolerate the ascription of inferior sentiments to a divinity; and there is the intellectual development which causes dissatisfaction with the crude interpretations previously accepted. Of course in pointing out the effects of these factors, I must name some which are familiar; but it is needful to glance at these along with others.

The cruelty of a Fijian god who, represented as devouring the souls of the dead, may be supposed to inflict torture during the process, is small compared with the cruelty of a god who condemns men to tortures which are eternal; and the ascription of this cruelty, though habitual in ecclesiastical formulas, occasionally occurring in sermons, and still sometimes pictorially illustrated, is becoming so intolerable to the better-natured, that while some theologians distinctly deny it, others quietly drop it out of their teachings. Clearly, this change cannot cease until the beliefs in hell and damnation disappear.

Disappearance of them will be aided by an increasing repugnance to injustice. The visiting on Adam's descendants through hundreds of generations dreadful penalties for a small transgression which they did not commit; the damning of all men who do not avail themselves of an alleged mode of obtaining forgiveness, which most men have never heard of; and the effecting a reconciliation by sacrifice of one who was perfectly innocent; are modes of action which, ascribed to a human ruler, would call forth expressions of abhorrence; and the ascription of them to the Ultimate Cause of things, even now felt to be full of difficulties, must become impossible.

So, too, must die out the belief that a Power present in innumerable worlds throughout infinite space, and who during millions of years of the Earth's earlier existence needed no honouring by its inhabitants, should be seized with a craving for praise; and, having created mankind, should be angry with them if they do not perpetually tell him how great he is. Men will by and by refuse to imply a trait of character which is the reverse of worshipful.

Similarly with the logical incongruities more and more conspicuous to growing intelligence. Passing over the familiar difficulties that sundry of the implied divine traits are in contradiction with the divine attributes otherwise ascribed—that a god who repents of what he has done must be lacking either

in power or in foresight; that his anger presupposes an occurrence which has been contrary to intention, and so indicates defect of means; we come to the deeper difficulty that such emotions, in common with all emotions, can exist only in a consciousness which is limited. Every emotion has its antecedent ideas, and antecedent ideas are habitually supposed to occur in God: he is represented as seeing and hearing this or the other, and as being emotionally affected thereby. That is to say, the conception of a divinity possessing these traits of character, necessarily continues anthropomorphic; not only in the sense that the emotions ascribed are like those of human beings, but also in the sense that they form parts of a consciousness which, like the human consciousness, is formed of successive states. And such a conception of the divine consciousness is irreconcilable both with the unchangeableness otherwise alleged, and with the omniscience otherwise alleged. For a consciousness constituted of ideas and feelings caused by objects and occurrences, cannot be simultaneously occupied with all objects and all occurrences throughout the universe. To believe in a divine consciousness, men must refrain from thinking what is meant by consciousness—must stop short with verbal propositions; and propositions which they are debarred from rendering into thoughts will more and more fail to satisfy them. Of course like difficulties present themselves when the will of God is spoken of. So long as we refrain from giving a definite meaning to the word will, we may say that it is possessed by the Cause of All Things, as readily as we may say that love of approbation is possessed by a circle; but when from the words we pass to the thoughts they stand for, we find that we can no more unite in consciousness the terms of the one proposition than we can those of the other. Whoever conceives any other will than his own must do so in terms of his own will, which is the sole will directly known to him—all other wills being only inferred. But will, as each is conscious of it, presupposes a motive—a prompting desire of some kind: absolute indifference excludes the conception of will. Moreover will, as implying a prompting desire, connotes some end contemplated as one to be achieved, and ceases with the achievement of it: some other will, referring to some other end, taking its place. That is to say, will, like emotion, necessarily supposes a series of states of consciousness. The conception of a divine will, derived from that of the human will, involves like it localization in space and time: the willing of each end excluding from consciousness for an interval the willing of other ends, and therefore being inconsistent with that omnipresent activity which simultaneously works out an infinity

of ends. It is the same with the ascription of intelligence. Not to dwell on the serfality and limitation implied as before, we may note that intelligence, as alone conceivable by us, presupposes existences independent of it and objective to it. It is carried on in terms of changes primarily wrought by alien activities—the impressions generated by things beyond consciousness, and the ideas derived from such impressions. To speak of an intelligence which exists in the absence of all such alien activities, is to use a meaningless word. If to the corollary that the First Cause, considered as intelligent, must be continually affected by independent objective activities, it is replied that these have become such by act of creation, and were previously included in the First Cause; then the reply is, that in such case the First Cause could, before this creation, have had nothing to generate in it such changes as those constituting what we call intelligence, and must therefore have been unintelligent at the time when intelligence was most called for. Hence it is clear that the intelligence ascribed answers in no respect to that which we know by the name. It is intelligence out of which all the characters constituting it have vanished.

These and other difficulties, some of which are often discussed but never disposed of, must force men hereafter to drop the higher anthropomorphic characters given to the First Cause, as they have long since dropped the lower.* The conception which has been enlarging from the beginning must go on enlarging, until, by disappearance of its limits, it becomes a consciousness which transcends the forms of distinct thought, though it for ever remains a consciousness.

"But how can such a final consciousness of the Unknowable, thus tacitly alleged to be true, be reached by successive modifications of a conception which was utterly untrue? The ghost-theory of the savage is baseless. The material double of a dead man in which he believes, never had any existence. And if by gradual de-materialization of this double was produced the conception of the supernatural agent in general—if the conception of a deity, formed by the dropping of some human attributes and transfiguration of others, resulted from continuance of this process; is not the developed and purified conception, reached by pushing the process to its limit, a fiction also? Surely if the primitive belief was absolutely false, all derived beliefs must be absolutely false."

This objection looks fatal; and it would be fatal were its premises valid. Unexpected as it will be to most readers, the answer here to be made is, that at the outset a germ of truth was contained in the primitive conception—the truth, namely, that the power

which manifests itself in consciousness is but a differently-conditioned form of the power which manifests itself beyond consciousness.

Every voluntary act yields to the primitive man proof of a source of energy within him. Not that he thinks about his internal experiences; but in these experiences this notion lies latent. When producing motion in his limbs, and through them motion in other things, he is aware of the accompanying feeling of effort. And this sense of effort which is the antecedent of changes directly produced by him, becomes the conceived antecedent of changes not produced by him—furnishes him with a term of thought by which to represent the genesis of these objective changes. At first this idea of muscular force as antecedent unusual events around him, carries with it the whole assemblage of associated ideas. He thinks of the implied effort as an effort exercised by a being wholly like himself. In course of time these doubles of the dead, supposed to be workers of all but the most familiar changes, are modified in conception. Besides becoming less grossly material, some of them are developed into larger personalities presiding over classes of phenomena which, being comparatively regular in their order, foster the idea of beings who, while far more powerful than men, are less variable in their modes of action. So that the idea of force as exercised by such beings comes to be less associated with the idea of a human ghost. Further advances by which minor supernatural agents become merged in one general agent, and by which the personality of this general agent is rendered vague while becoming widely extended, tend still further to dissociate the notion of objective force from the force known as such in consciousness; and the dissociation reaches its extreme in the thoughts of the man of science, who interprets in terms of force not only the visible changes of sensible bodies but all physical changes whatever, even up to the undulations of the ethereal medium. Nevertheless, this force (be it force under that statical form by which matter resists, or under that dynamical form distinguished as energy) is to the last thought of in terms of that internal energy which he is conscious of as muscular effort. He is compelled to symbolize objective force in terms of subjective force from lack of any other symbol.

See now the implications. That internal energy which in the experiences of the primitive man was always the immediate antecedent of changes wrought by him—that energy which, when interpreting external changes, he thought of along with those attributes of a human personality connected with it in himself; is the same energy which, freed from anthropomorphic

accompaniments, is now figured as the cause of all external phenomena. The last stage reached is recognition of the truth that force as it exists beyond consciousness, cannot be like what we know as force within consciousness; and that yet, as either is capable of generating the other, they must be different modes of the same. Consequently, the final outcome of that speculation commenced by the primitive man, is that the Power manifested throughout the Universe distinguished as material, is the same Power which in ourselves wells up under the form of consciousness.

It is untrue, then, that the foregoing argument proposes to evolve a true belief from a belief which was wholly false. Contrariwise, the ultimate form of the religious consciousness is the final development of a consciousness which at the outset contained a germ of truth obscured by multitudinous errors.

Those who think that science is dissipating religious beliefs and sentiments seem unaware that whatever of mystery is taken from the old interpretation is added to the new. Or rather, we may say that transference from the one to the other is accompanied by increase; since, for an explanation which has a seeming feasibility, it substitutes an explanation which, carrying us back only a certain distance, there leaves us in presence of the avowedly inexplicable.

Under one of its aspects scientific progress is a gradual transfiguration of Nature. Where ordinary perception saw perfect simplicity, it reveals great complexity; where there seemed absolute inertness, it discloses intense activity; and in what appears mere vacancy, it finds a marvellous play of forces. Each generation of physicists discover in so-called "brute matter" powers which, but a few years before, the most instructed physicists would have thought incredible; as instance the ability of a mere iron plate to take up the complicated aerial vibrations produced by articulate speech, which, all translated into multitudinous and varied electric pulses, are re-translated a thousand miles off by another iron plate and again heard as articulate speech. When the explorer of Nature sees that, quiescent as they appear, surrounding solid bodies are thus sensitive to forces which are infinitesimal in their amounts—when the spectroscope proves to him that molecules on the Earth pulsate in harmony with molecules in the stars—when there is forced on him the inference that every point in space thrills with an infinity of vibrations passing through it in all directions; the conception to which he tends is much less that of a Universe of dead matter than that of a Universe everywhere alive: alive if not in the restricted sense, still in a general sense.

This transfiguration, which the inquiries of physicists continually increase, is aided by that other transfiguration resulting from

metaphysical inquiries. Subjective analysis compels us to admit that our scientific interpretations of the phenomena which objects present, are expressed in terms of our own variously-combined sensations and ideas—are expressed, that is, in elements belonging to consciousness, which are but symbols of the something beyond consciousness. Though analysis afterwards reinstates our primitive beliefs, to the extent of showing that behind every group of phenomenal manifestations there is always a *nexus*, which is the reality that remains fixed amid appearances which are variable; yet we are shown that this *nexus* of reality is for ever inaccessible to consciousness. And when, once more, we remember that the activities constituting consciousness, being rigorously bounded, cannot bring in among themselves the activities beyond the bounds, which therefore seem unconscious, though production of either by the other seems to imply that they are of the same essential nature; this necessity we are under to think of the external energy in terms of the internal energy, gives rather a spiritualistic than a materialistic aspect to the Universe; further thought, however, obliging us to recognize the truth that a conception given in phenomenal manifestations of this ultimate energy can in no wise show us what it is.

While the beliefs to which analytic science thus leads are such as do not destroy the object-matter of religion, but simply transfigure it, science under its concrete forms enlarges the sphere for religious sentiment. From the very beginning the progress of knowledge has been accompanied by an increasing capacity for wonder. Among savages, the lowest are the least surprised when shown remarkable products of civilized art: astonishing the traveller by their indifference. And so little of the marvellous do they perceive in the grandest phenomena of Nature, that any inquiries concerning them they regard as childish trifling. This contrast in mental attitude between the lowest human beings and the higher human beings around us, is paralleled by the contrasts among the grades of these higher human beings themselves. It is not the rustic, nor the artisan, nor the trader, who sees something more than a mere matter of course in the hatching of a chick; but it is the biologist, who, pushing to the uttermost his analysis of vital phenomena, reaches his greatest perplexity when a speck of protoplasm under the microscope shows him life in its simplest form, and makes him feel that, however he formulates its processes, the actual play of forces remains unimaginable. Neither in the ordinary tourist nor in the deer-stalker climbing the mountains above him, does a highland glen rouse ideas beyond those of sport or of the picturesque; but it may, and often does, in the

geologist. He, observing that the glacier-rounded rock he sits on has lost by weathering but half an inch of its surface since a time far more remote than the beginnings of human civilization, and then trying to conceive the slow denudation which has cut out the whole valley, has thoughts of time and of power to which they are strangers—thoughts which, already utterly inadequate to their objects, he feels to be still more futile on noting the contorted beds of gneiss around, which tell him of a time, immeasurably more remote, when far beneath the Earth's surface they were in a half-melted state, and again tell him of a time, immensely exceeding this in remoteness, when their components were sand and mud on the shores of an ancient sea. Nor is it in the primitive peoples who supposed that the heavens rested on the mountain tops, any more than in the modern inheritors of their cosmogony who repeat that "the heavens declare the glory of God," that we find the largest conceptions of the Universe or the greatest amount of wonder excited by contemplation of it. Rather, it is in the astronomer, who sees in the Sun a mass so vast that even into one of his spots our Earth might be plunged without touching its edges; and who by every finer telescope is shown an increased multitude of such suns, many of them far larger.

Hereafter as heretofore, higher faculty and deeper insight will raise rather than lower this sentiment. At present the most powerful and most instructed intellect has neither the knowledge nor the capacity required for symbolizing in thought the totality of things. Occupied with one or other division of Nature, the man of science usually does not know enough of the other divisions even to rudely conceive the extent and complexity of their phenomena; and supposing him to have adequate knowledge of each, yet he is unable to think of them as a whole. Wider and more complex intellect may hereafter help him to form a vague consciousness of them in their totality. We may say that just as an undeveloped musical faculty, able only to appreciate a simple melody, cannot grasp the variously entangled passages and harmonies of a symphony, which in the minds of composer and conductor are unified into involved musical effects awakening far greater feeling than is possible to the musically uncultured; so, by future more evolved intelligences, the course of things now apprehensible only in parts may be apprehensible all together, with an accompanying feeling as much beyond that of the present cultured man, as his feeling is beyond that of the savage.

And this feeling is not likely to be decreased but increased by

that analysis of knowledge which, while forcing him to Agnosticism, yet continually prompts him to imagine some solution of the Great Enigma which he knows cannot be solved. Especially must this be so when he remembers that the very notions, beginning and end, cause and purpose, are relative notions belonging to human thought, which are probably inapplicable to the Ultimate Reality transcending human thought; and when, though suspecting that explanation is a word without meaning when applied to this Ultimate Reality, he yet feels compelled to think there must be an explanation. •

But amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty, that he is ever in presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed.

HERBERT SPENCER.

**ART. X—IS BEHAR RACK-RENTED? AN ENQUIRY
INTO THE CONDITION OF THE BEHAR RYOTS.**

I.

1. *Reports of Messrs. TOBIN and FINUCANE. Government of India Gazette, 20th October, 1883.*
2. *Notes and Memorandum by Mr. REYNOLDS. Report of the Government of Bengal on the Rent Bill. Vol. I.*
3. *Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the proposed Amendment of the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Bengal, March, 1882.*
4. *Notes by the Committee of the Behar Landholders' Association on the proposed Rent law. Report of the Government of Bengal, Vol. II.*

1. ABOUT the end of last year, four officers were deputed by the Bengal Government to enquire into and ascertain the equitable rent-rates in four selected areas. Two of them were appointed for Behar: Mr. Tobin for a selected tract in one of the South Gangetic districts, and Mr. Finucane for a selected tract in one of the North Gangetic districts of Behar. This was, so far as is known to the public, the first and only enquiry into the economic condition of agriculture in Bengal and Behar since the present agitation for the amendment of the law of landlord and tenant commenced. Portions of the Reports of Mr. Tobin and the detailed Report of Mr. Finucane were published in the *Gazette of India*, dated 20th October 1883.

2. It is not clear why the first and second fortnightly Reports of Mr. Tobin, and the further reports of Mr. Tobin after the third, have not seen the light. In the 19th paragraph of his third fortnightly Report, dated 21st January 1883, published at pp. 1756-1758 of the *Gazette*, Mr. Tobin writes:—"I shall now proceed to complete my enquiries for four villages, which I have taken up in addition to those in my original list as approved by the Board, in your No. 1079 A., dated 5th December 1882. I am also proceeding to complete and despatch the reports required on the subject of staple crop and special crops, and to complete my enquiries into the increase of prices during the last forty years, which has necessitated careful search." One may be inclined to ask where are these reports, the early despatch of which had been thus promised. They would have furnished valuable data to test the accuracy of Mr. Finucane's reports, and would doubtless have been

interesting reading by themselves. In the absence of all explanation as to why they have been withheld from the public, the reason of such withdrawal is a matter of conjecture. Mr. Tobin, in an earlier part of his report referred to (para. 4, p. 1757,) says: "I have pointed out in my letter No. 45 that the occupancy ryots and those with the right to hold at fixed rates hold at one and the same rate. New ryots have been admitted to lands at the old prevailing rate, and though the rate has not been changed for more than 30 years, many of the existing ryots are new-comers." And again, para. 12, "I have therefore come to the conclusion that a table of fair and equitable rates, such as is contemplated by the rules, is an impossibility in the Northern as well as in the Southern tract; unless, therefore, I receive orders to the contrary, I shall not continue to attempt to prepare such a table." The equitable rates, determined under the method contemplated by the rules followed by Mr. Finucane elsewhere, would have shown here an enormous increase over the old existing rates. We are not told whether, after Mr. Tobin discovered this, the enquiry was continued,—possibly it was abandoned so far as the South Gangetic districts were concerned. It would be interesting to know whether Mr. Tobin's enquiries were abandoned, or their results not published, because they failed to countenance the preconceived notions of Government on the point.

3. Now Mr. Tobin's enquiries, so far as they have been made public, conclusively establish:—

1st. That in the North tract of the selected area in the South Gangetic districts, so far from the ryots being rack-rented, there has been no change in the rent-rates for the last 40 years, and that the tenants-at-will and occupancy ryots hold at the same rate as old ryots entitled to fixed rates.

2nd. That so far from this rate being a rack-rent, the rate of rent paid by occupancy ryots in the tract is very low, and the occupancy ryots sub-let their lands at from twice to ten times the *guzastha* (old) rates.

3rd. That the average rates in the 19 villages embraced in Mr. Tobin's report are found as follows:—

Upparwar				Deara			
Rate per bigah.				Rate per bigah.			
Rs. As. P.				Rs. As. P.			
1.	Dakaich...	...	2 4 6	...	...	...	...
2.	Damanjakra...	...	.....	...	2	5	4
3.	Hathibpur...	...	1 14 6	...	...	...	...
4.	Deawan...	...	2 8 3	...	2	4	0
5.	Dea Permeshwar..	...	2 6 0	...	3	7	6
6.	Dumri...	...	3 2 4	...	3	6	1

	Upparwar				Deara		
	Rate per bigah.				Rate per bigah.		
	Rs.	As.	P.		Rs.	As.	P.
Durasum...	3	4	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rampenlekhion...	3	1	0	.....	3	13	4
7. Khoba...	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	0	0
8. Rani Singanpura.....	3	3	1	.....	3	6	3
9. Kashi Singanpura...	1	10	11	.....	1	10	11
10. Nag singanpura.....	2	0	6	.....	2	0	6
11. Nagatpura ...	2	2	0	.....	2	2	0
12. Bhenkara...	3	2	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
13. Nag Amartha Khurd	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	8	0
14. Kharatwar...	2	2	0	.....	5	1	0
15. Dhotha...	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	4	8
16. Ganguli...	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	6	0
17. Chatanpura...	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	8	0
18. Leurua...	2	0	0	.....	3	15	0
19. Nag Amartha Khurd	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	9	0
Total of 16 rates...	34	13	3.	Total of 18 rates...	59	11	11
Average...	2	5	2.	Average ...	3	5	1

Average of Upparwar and Deara rates Rs. 2-13-1½.

These rates are not rack-rents : on the contrary they are admittedly low.

4th. That the average produce per acre in the following villages, the only tracts for which the produce figures have been published, is as follows :—

Para 9 of Mr. Tobin's Reports, p. 1757.

Sukbigdi Rajah Deara...	...	...	15	Maunds.
Ditto. Upparwar ..	...	...	7½	
Rani Singanpura Tal lands...	...	...	14	
Ditto. Buldhus-highlands...	...	...	11	

Taking an average, we get 11 Maunds, 35 seers, as the produce per acre.

Mr. Tobin's report on the subject of staple crops, and special crops, and increase of prices during the last forty years, has been, as we have seen before, withheld from the public.

4. One other point has been clearly made out by Mr. Tobin's enquiries, and it is much to be regretted that the full text of his report has not been published. Imperfect as is the glimpse which we get of it, it is sufficient to show, in the light of facts, what low rents, fixity of tenure, and power to sub-let, may lead us to, so long as the habits of the ryots remain unchanged. We find :—

(a) That the occupancy ryots sub-let their lands at from twice to ten times the *guzastha* rate. *

(b) That they (the *Guzastha* ryots) have in past years held more

* And yet the new law proposes no relief to sub-tenants. On the contrary, it proposes to deluge the whole land of Bengal and Behar with rack-rented ryots of this class.

land than they could properly cultivate; they generally select the crop that requires the least cultivation, *vis.*, peas, although it commands a very low price, and does not yield a greater outturn than other crops.

Para 18 of Mr. Tobin's Reports, page 1768.

5. An interesting episode connected with this report is a correspondence with Mr. Nolan, Collector of Shahabad, a strong advocate of the peasant-proprietory school, an official who has always done his best to support the present agitation for the amendment of the law of landlord and tenant. The zemindary party has always maintained, with some show of reason, that the ill-judged action of Mr. Nolan did a good deal to intensify the agrarian disturbances at Bogra in the year 1873. He had found, at last, a set of peasant proprietors in the district of Shahabad in the *Guzastha* tenure-holders, and he had apparently, to his heart's content and to the support of his pet theory, imagined all good in them. Mr. Tobin's enquiries show conclusively how illusory these visions of Utopian good in a peasant proprietorship had been. Mr. Nolan says, "the peculiarity of the selected tract is that it is cultivated by ryots, of whom a considerable proportion have those *guzastha* rights, while nearly all have occupancy rights, and that the same leniency of the landlord which permitted such privileges to grow up and continue, has prevented him from generally enhancing rents on other lands. It is not, therefore, a good example of the general condition of the district, and I objected to its selection for these enquiries, on the ground that it was not typical, and that there was no prevailing rate. But if in these respects it affords less information than could be wished, its condition is worthy of the attention of the framers of the Bill on other grounds. *It is the object of some of the framers of the present Bill to secure for the ryots of Bengal as a body rights of occupancy at moderate rents, which they contend would insure superior cultivation* through the improvements to be expected from those who enjoy security of title, a certain prosperity in ordinary times, with the credit necessary to enable cultivators to tide over periods of famine without becoming a burden on the taxes, and which would also, it is urged, tend to give to the tenants the independence and manliness of character generally found among peasant-proprietors. On the other hand, there are many who believe that low rents and security end in sloth, the sale of the land to speculators, and in the end to sub-letting at a rack-rent. It would be most important to ascertain whether in the selected tract the conditions which it is proposed to create elsewhere, have led to the results anticipated by the one school or the other :

"I think that there can be no doubt in such a question.

Sub-letting is not unknown in Bhojpur, and some of the cultivators are in debt; but these are exceptional cases. The general rule is, that the ryots cultivate their own lands with their own small capital, and when they sell their holdings, it is to others of their own class.* Their industry is marked, and has resulted in the clearing of the jungle with which much of the land was covered 50 years ago, and the creation of a cultivated area as well planted with fruit trees, † as well irrigated from wells, ‡ and as well fenced as any I have seen in India. § No one can encamp for a day in the tract without being struck with its exceptional prosperity, which contrasts strongly with the backward state of those parts of the district in which rents are high, and occupancy rights unknown. The credit of the cultivators is so good that, as you informed me, they generally borrow at the rate of 12 per cent., that is, on as good terms as their landlord. There would, therefore, be no anxiety whatever as to their surviving without assistance a period of ordinary famine. As to their character, the objection I generally hear to it is, that it is too manly and independent. The Bhojpur wrestlers have a name throughout the country, and every man carries the large Bhojpur *latti* which he can use with great skill. They are equally ready to defend themselves in law courts with which the complication of rights, inseparable from any system where the majority possess interest in land, has rendered them familiar. I have always found them open, communicative, ready to deal or to serve, and their honesty is proved by the low rate of interest demanded from them; but they have another side of their character for any one who oppresses them.

"I think that these facts should be brought to the notice of Government as having a certain bearing on the general policy of the Bill. In the area to which your enquiries are confined, it would, I submit, appear that *rights of occupancy at easy rents have been followed by comparative industry and prosperity*, and with their usual effects on the moral character of those who enjoy them."

The result of Mr. Tobin's enquiries is a complete disposal of the contention of the opposing schools. It proves conclusively that low rents and security of tenure in the case of the Shahabad ryots, whose virtues Mr. Nolan extols to the skies, have ended in sloth,

*Out of 639 transfers, effected in the year 1881-82, 217 or over 30 per cent. were in favor of mahajuns, landlords, and others, *vide* the table in Mr. Secretary MacDonnell's letter to the Secretary, Government of India, dated 27th September 1883.

† Planted and constructed at the expense of the Doomraon Raj.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Only by *aals* (ridges of earth) as in other parts of India.

and to sub-letting at rack-rents. It proves that the object of some of the framers of the present Bill to secure for the ryots of Bengal as a body rights of occupancy at moderate rents, which they contend would insure superior cultivation through the improvements to be effected from those who enjoy security of title and a certain prosperity in ordinary times, is not likely to be realized if ryots in Bengal and Behar have to be judged by their types in Shahabad. It proves that low rents and security of tenure would end, as they have ended in the district of Shahabad, in bad cultivation, and the selection of crops that require the least attention. Mr. Tobin says (para. 18 of his Report, p. 1758)—“With reference to Mr. Nolan's remark about the good qualities of the Bhojpur ryots, I agree with him in what he says of their manliness, independence and prosperity. I must, however, demur to what he says as to their industry and good cultivation. They have in past years held more land than they could cultivate properly; *they generally select the crop that requires least cultivation, viz., peas, although it commands a very low price, and does not yield a greater outturn than other crops.* In those lands, where Brahmins, Rajputs and Bhunbaes have been superseded by more industrious castes, I notice a marked difference in the care with which the land is cultivated. I will, however, refer to the matter when submitting my final report.” But this final report has not, perhaps, been found acceptable by the advocates of the peasant-proprietory school, and is nowhere to be found in the voluminous published papers on the Rent Bill. The secret of the prosperity of the peasant-proprietors here, in cases where they are not in debt, as some of them admittedly are, is not the outturn they get for the bad cultivation of such cheap crops as require the least trouble in cultivation, but the rents they get by sub-letting their lands, always more than they can properly cultivate, at twice to ten times the *guzastha* rates they pay to the superior landlords. They are prosperous as middlemen, and the actual cultivators of the soil, whether as farm-labourers or sub-tenants, for whom the professors of the peasant-proprietory school design no protection or relief, are perhaps not a whit better off than the actual cultivators in other parts of Bengal and Behar, and yet the Rent Bill proposes to turn the entire body of occupancy ryots in Bengal and Behar into such middlemen with numbers of miserable sub-tenants under them.

6. It is satisfactory to note that the Board of Revenue, perhaps as the result of this enquiry, have modified their tone as to the loud charge of rack-renting against the whole body of zemindars of Behar, and they suggest a broad line of demarcation in the treatment of the land-law question between

South Behar and North Behar. They say in para. 7 of their letter to Government, p. 1719 of the *Gazette* :—"Mr. Dampier agrees with Mr. Finucane that the state of things existing in North Behar as brought out in his present report, and compared with that existing in South Behar, Lower Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, calls for the introduction in the Rent Bill of a provision for a reduction of the existing rents, where they are found to be excessive, and also for provisions to check arbitrary enhancements." It implies that in South Behar existing rents are not excessive, and arbitrary enhancements are not generally prevalent. We now turn to Mr. Finucane's report, and the state of things alleged to exist in North Behar.

II.

1. The original papers, on which Mr. Finucane's calculations are made and his report based, have not been published, and the public are therefore not in a position to test the accuracy of his figures. We are not told whether the original settlement papers show what was the number of ryots in the villages under report at the time of settlement, and whether, except in the matter of irrigation, the places enjoyed the same advantages, in other respects, forty years ago, as they do now. We are not told what was the prevalent rate of rent at the date of the settlement in places adjacent for lands enjoying the same advantages as the lands of the villages under report. That population has increased during the last 40 years, is a fact well-known. Places which were sparsely populated then have now a redundant population to spare, and it is an admitted fact that where years ago, the demand was for ryots, the demand now is for land. In some of the villages of the districts of Bengal, where, for causes not material to our present purpose, population is sparse, the rate of rent is very low, and a great deal of indulgence has to be shown to ryots originally settling in them; but once the ryots begin to settle, the rate of rent steadily rises up to the rates prevalent in adjacent villages.

2. Competition, as an important factor in regulating rates of rent, is not at all taken into account in Mr. Finucane's reports; and, however much the principle of free competition might have received a check in regulating rates of rent decreed by Courts through the High Court ruling in the great rent case, it cannot be doubted that in the private dealings between landlords and tenants, competition has always played, and will always continue to play, an important part. What effect this has had in regulating rents in the tract examined by Mr. Finucane, we will in a subsequent part of this article try to discover. That

there is hard competition for land in the tract examined by Mr. Finucane is clearly established from the testimony of people relied on by him in his report. To his question, whether there were new settlers in the village Tubka Khas, the Patwary and Jeth ryots said, "there is not land enough for old ryots; why, they ask, should new ryots come?" (*see* p. 1728). It appears that an average holding is about 6 bigahs in extent.* With this small area of holding it would be indeed surprising to find the ryots employing farm-labourers, as they are said to do, if they only made such small profit out of their cultivation as Mr. Finucane represents them to do. The tract examined by Mr. Finucane always possessed the facilities of irrigation by river water, and now has the special advantage of being situated within a few miles of the Tirhut State Railway.

3. Mr. Finucane finds the average rates in the villages which he went over, and the average produce per bigah, of staple (cereals only) crops, to be as follows:—

	Rs. A. P.		
Tubka Khas	3 1 9
Sarowli	3 1 0
Tubka Magribi	1 14 9
Mohamodpur Sankara	3 12 0
Dulsingera, excluding indigo Zerats	3 1 9
Kooksa	5 3 3
Tubka Kishenpur	3 6 11
Raghupur	2 4 5
Gangowli	3 3 6

The average produce of Bheet lands is 22½ maunds and of Dhanwar lands, as given for village Tubka Khas, 15 maunds per bigah.

The average of the rates of rent for Tal-Deerah lands in the tract of Shahabad examined by Mr. Tobin, is Rs. 3-5-1; the highest average in any one village, being Rs. 6-4-8, in village Dhooba; this is more than the highest average Rs. 5-3-3, in village Kooksa found by Mr. Finucane in the tract examined by him. All Mr. Finucane's rates are lower than the average Rs. 3-5-1 of Tal-Deerah lands of the Shahabad tract, except the rates Rs. 3-12 for village Mohamodpur Sankara, and the rate Rs. 5-3-3 for Kooksa. The general average of all the Tirhut rates is Rs. 3-3-7 which is lower than the average rate of Rs. 3-5-1 for Tal-Deerah lands

* Mr. Finucane finds 97 rent-rates in Tubka Khas, and remarks: "These 97 rates are, it will be seen, neither village nor customary, nor soil class-rates. They are in fact 'personal' rates, made out by striking a separate average for each separate ryot's holding. In 1882, the whole area cultivated was 623 bigahs, which gives 6 bigahs and odd for each of the separate 97 holdings."

in Shahabad. It may be here noted that in order to get at a correct view of things,* it is but fair to compare the Tirhut rates, which have been, according to Mr. Finucane, always variable, with the rent-rates of Shahabad Deara lands which represent the *guzastha* rent-rates comparatively more recent than the Upparwar rates, which have never changed since the most olden times. But, after all, even comparing the average rent-rate of Deara-Tal and Upparwar lands of Shahabad (Rs. 2-13-11½) with the average rent-rate of Mr. Finucane, we find that the difference is 7 ans. 1½ pice only, or that the average Tirhut rent-rate is 15. 4 per cent. more than the Shahabad rate, a result which we get independently from another source. The Road-cess returns for 1878-79 give the following valuation of land per square mile for the districts of Shahabad and Mozafarpur (*see* Mr. Reynolds' notes, p, 267, Vol. I. Report of the Government of Bengal):—

Shahabad	...	...	...	Rs. 1,300
Mozafarpur	...	...	...	„ 1,471

which would show that the average incidence of rent in Tirhut is 13.1 per cent. more than in Shahabad. Comparing the average incidence of rent per square mile as found from the Road-cess returns in Mr. Reynolds' note referred to above, we find that the Tirhut rate is lower than the rent-rate per square mile of many of the districts of Bengal. The average valuations per square mile of some of the Bengal districts are as follows:—

				Rs.
Burdwan	...	...	...	2,100
Hughley	...	...	...	2,100
Noakhally	...	...	...	1,900
24-Perganahs	...	...	...	1,500
Rajshahi	...	...	...	1,500

All these rates are higher than the Mozafarpur rate of Rs. 1,471 per square mile. Babu Parbutty Charan Rai, Deputy Collector, as the result of his enquiry in the select tract of the district of Murshidabad, found the average rent-rate in village Gopinathpur to be Rs. 2-8 per bigah.* The incidence of rent-rates in the district of Murshidabad as per Road-cess returns, is lower than the rent-rates of Burdwan, Hughley, Noakhally, 24-Perganahs, Rajshahi, Backergunge and Rungpur. It is Rs. 1,290 per square mile, *i.e.*, a little less than that of Shahabad, and Rs. 181 less than that of Mozafarpur, and though the ratio of Rs. 2-8 of Murshidabad to Rs. 3-3, the average rent-rate

* The Behar bigah of 3,660 square yards is greater than the Bengal bigah; but this has not been taken account of in the subsequent calculation

of Mr. Finucane is not exactly equal to the ratio of 1290 to 1471, the result is strikingly approximate.

4. The above facts show that the incidence of rent in the district of Mozafarpur is not higher than the average incidence of rent in the district of Burdwan, Hughly, Noakhally, 24-Perganahs, and Rajshahi, and only about 15 to 16 per cent. higher than that of Shahabad and Murshidabad. We have seen also that the average produce of lands in staple crops in the tract examined by Mr. Finucane is 22½ maunds for Bheet and 15 maunds for Dhanwar lands, or an average of 18 maunds 36 seers per bigah. In the Shahabad tract, Mr. Tobin, as we have seen, found the average to be 11 maunds 35 seers per acre and as the price rates in the district of Shahabad cannot be higher than the price rates in the tract examined by Mr. Finucane, we find that if the rent-rates were proportionate to the quantity of produce, the rent-rates of Mozafarpur ought to have been one-and-half times the rent-rate of Shahabad, or where the average rent-rate of Shahabad was Rs. 2-13-1½ the average rent-rate of Mozafarpur ought to have been Rs. 4-3½ per bigah, which is a much higher figure than the actual average rate of Rs. 3-3 of the present day.

5. Turning to the report of Babu Parbutty Charan Rai, we find that the produce in staple of a bigah of land in the villages visited by him, is as follows:—

Gopinathpur,—5 maunds, 17 seers of paddy, yielding 3 maunds, 34 seers of rice.

Ralabatti,—3 maunds, 20 seers of paddy, yielding 2 maunds 26 seers of rice.

Thira,—5 maunds, 10 seers of paddy, yielding 3 maunds, 29 seers of rice.

The average rent-rate in the first of these villages, is Rs. 2-8, in the second, Re. 1-13-6, and in the third, Re. 1-9-6: all these rates are proportionately higher than the average rent-rate of Rs. 3-3 of Mozafarpur with the average produce yield of 15 maunds dhan per bigah.

6. But rents, which considered in relation to the value of the cereals may appear to be high, are not at all high when considered with reference to the value of the produce of tobacco, sugar-cane, jute, potato, poppy, and oil-seeds of sorts. Mr. Finucane's calculations are worthless, because he does not take into account the produce and value of oil-seeds, potatoes, poppy, and tobacco, and a number of other valuable products. In the tract examined by Mr. Finucane, tobacco appears to be to some extent grown. With reference to Tubka Khas, Mr. Finucane says, special crop rates are not charged

for tobacco or other special crops (p. 1728). Only in one village (Kooksa), Mr. Finucane found a cess called *Katouli*, of Re.1-4 charged over and above the rent, on tobacco cultivation; but though in the average rent-rate struck out of the Jamabundi of this village, the cess is included, Mr. Finucane has not thought fit to take tobacco and its prices into account in the calculation of his prices. Mr. Finucane has also not taken into account the produce straw and its price, by no means an unimportant item according to Babu Parbutty Charan Rai's calculations (see p. 1744), the price being about a fourth of the yield of paddy. It has also to be observed, that whereas in Bengal the highest rent-rates are charged for homestead lands (*vide* Report of Babu Parbutty Charan Rai and Mr. McPherson), no rent is charged for the site of the ryot's house in the tract examined by Mr. Finucane (*vide* p. 1728), or generally in any district of Behar; nor any rent charged for groves and thatching grass. The average rent-rate of Rs. 3-3 of Mozafarpur for a bigah of 3,660 square yards of culturable lands includes thus the rent that would be due in other cases for homesteads, fruit trees and thatching grass. The tract examined by Mr. Finucane is also a rich field for indigo, and it is but natural that competition between the indigo planters, and the ryots, should, to a certain extent, raise the rents.

7. There is no absolute standard of rent, by a reference to which you can say that a certain rate of rent is rack-rent. What is rack-rent in one part of the country is not rack-rent in another; what would be rack-rent by reference to the produce and price in one year, would not be rack-rent with reference to the produce or price of another year; what would be rack-rent by reference to one kind of produce and its price, would not be rack-rent, with reference to another kind of produce, which the field yields or can yield, and the price obtainable for the same; what would be rack-rent with reference to the wages of labour and the standard of comfort of the ryot's living in one part of the country, would not be rack-rent with reference to the rate of labour-wages, and the cost of living of the ryot in another tract. A variety of circumstances has to be taken into consideration in determining what is rack-rent, and nothing can be more mistaken than a determination of the standard rent-rates, without taking all these circumstances into account.

8. Nothing is more common than for a ryot to take up a holding at a higher rent-rate than ordinary for a portion of such holding, simply for the sake of high profits which he can make for another portion of the same. In an ordinary holding of 10 bigahs in Behar, as we show more in detail in another part of this note, one or two bigahs are poppy, potatoes, sugar-cane or

cotton lands, and all the rents for the entire holding, and a margin of profits come out of the yield of this one bigah or two; the remainder yields cereals, and all this is the ryot's own. The remark of the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbon, with reference to this matter, is so very pertinent, that we quote it *in extenso*. "Mr. Finucane, whose reports are largely quoted, enters more fully into the subject. He has taken the relative prices of edible crops now and some forty years ago, as the basis of his argument; but he has made the mistake of considering staple crops to consist of cereals only. He has omitted to take the area under opium, potatoes, tobacco, cotton fabrics of sorts, dyes of sorts, turmeric, ginger, sugar-cane, oil-seeds, &c., into consideration, or the *extraordinary* increase that has taken place in the cultivation of these crops since the Permanent Settlement. In 1840, Government distributed 37 lakhs of rupees throughout India for opium, in 1881-82 it distributed nearly six times that sum. To make an exact estimate of the value of the gross produce of the country in 1793 now I presume is impossible, and until it is done, all comparison between the average value of lands at the time of the Permanent Settlement and now must be deceptive. We planters, without any access to figures, can but form our opinions from what we see going on around us; we can but see that the province has made the most extraordinary stride in prosperity of late years, and we believe that it was the intention of the Legislature that the Zemindar should share in it with the ryot. That some ryots on each estate may be rack-rented is not only possible but very probable. Some lands may be rack-rented at two rupees an acre, whereas lands in their vicinity may be cheap at ten rupees. It is difficult to believe that a district which is able to pay the greater portion of its landlord's rent from the produce of any one crop* grown on it, can be rack-rented, and that it requires the drastic remedies people have recommended for it. Chumparun, which pays its landlords in round figures some twenty-four lakhs of rupees, and has a million and a half acres of land under cultivation, receives from 16 to 18 lakhs of rupees per annum for 70,000 acres under poppy. Shahabad and Gya might meet their landlords' rents from the proceeds of the sugar-cane crop alone; the value of sugar carried by the Gya State Railway from the town of Gya was valued at 37 lakhs for one season. Tirhut and Durbhanga might pay their rents from the proceeds of the tobacco crop."

* As an illustration, take the poppy crop. It is cultivated in 4,610,860 bigahs, a very small proportion of the culturable area of Behar. It brings to the pocket of the cultivators Rs. 10,718,715, nearly one-third of the gross rental of the whole province, which, from the Road-cess returns of 1878-79, is seen to be Rs. 32,634,108.

9. We now come to the method adopted by Mr. Finucane in ascertaining what should be the equitable rate of rent. He examined, under the rule of proportion laid down in the great rent case, whether the rent in 1882 is proportionate to the rent in 1840. We are not told why the rule of proportion alone should be followed in discussing whether rents have been legitimately enhanced. The rule of proportion was only laid down by the Judges in 1865 and Mr. Finucane carries his enquiries back to 1840; can Mr. Finucane show that previous to the date when the Judges laid down the rule of proportion, rents used to be enhanced only on that rule, and on no other? Again, are not other grounds for enhancement allowed, and allowable even after the rule of proportion had been laid down; and have not parties, by private agreements amongst themselves, followed other rules than the grounds allowed for enhancement in courts of law? Such private contracts have never before this been held to be illegal. And even under the procedure laid down for courts, rents can be enhanced if the rates are lower than those prevalent in the places adjacent. Competition has, as we have seen before, been an important factor in the determination of the rate of rents, and the tract examined by Mr. Finucane is undoubtedly more populous than the tracts under the examination of Messrs. Tobin and McPherson, and Babu Parbutty Charan Rai, as the following figures show:—

				Population per square mile.
Mozafarpur	...	...	...	728
Shahabad	...	...	...	403
Murshidabad	...	...	...	566
Bogra	...	...	...	455

10. A great competitor for land, in the shape of the indigo planter, has been for some years in the neighbourhood, and the Tirhut State Railway must have given a fresh impetus to such competition. But putting aside all these considerations, we will examine Mr. Finucane's method on its own merits, and if our readers will bear with us, we will make it clear that Mr. Finucane fails even here in showing that rent-rates in the tract examined by him are not at all proportionate to the rise in prices from 1840 to 1882. Mr. Finucane, as we have seen, takes into his calculations only the cereals, and leaves all other important and valuable products aside. One of the chief factors in Mr. Finucane's calculation is the amount of produce in 1840 and that in 1882. Mr. Finucane disposes of this, by assuming, on what evidence it is not clear, that there has been no increase in the productiveness of the soil. The next factor is the price current in 1840, and the price current of the present day. Whatever may be said of the value of the evidence

on which Mr. Finucane fixes the price current of 1840, it is certain that he makes a mistake in determining the price current of the year 1882. The statement of price current for the years 1880-81-82 gave only the price of rice, and not paddy (*vide* his Report, p. 1730 of the *Gazette*). Again, he takes for his purpose the average of 1881-82, and leaves 1880 out of calculation, as an abnormal year; there was, however, no evidence before him that the year 1840 in the cycle of years and droughts was not also an abnormal year; we will show in a subsequent part of this note how his calculations would be materially affected if he had taken the price current of 1880 into account in making his average; but leaving this for the present aside, we will follow Mr. Finucane in his calculations. The average price of common rice Mr. Finucane finds to be one rupee for 25½ seers in 1881-82, and the price of paddy he takes to be fifty seers for the rupee. Paddy, he says in a foot-note, does not sell at the same rate per rupee as its equivalent in rice, as the purchaser suffers from the loss of weight in drying, carriage, storage, &c. (Mr. Finucane perhaps does not think that paddy is sold when it is yet unreaped in the field). But all these losses are allowed in Babu Parbutty Charan Rai's calculations, and Babu Parbutty Charan Rai, whose experience in these matters we take to be more trustworthy than that of Mr. Finucane, finds (*see* p. 1744 of the *Gazette*) that five maunds, seventeen seers of paddy yields three maunds, thirty-four seers of rice, or in other words, thirty-five seers, fourteen chittacks of paddy yield 25½ seers of rice. Therefore, when common rice sells at 25½ seers for the rupee, common paddy ought to sell at thirty-five seers, fourteen chittacks for the rupee,* and not fifty seers. Allowing for this mistake of calculation, Mr. Finucane's table of prices published at p. 1720 of the *Gazette*, ought to stand thus:—

A.

	Price in 1247 Fs. (1840 A.D.)	Price in 1289 Fs. (1882 A.D.)	Percentage of in- crease in prices since 1840.
	Seers 80 s. w. per rupee.	Seers 80 s. w. per rupee.	
Unhusked Rice (Dhan) ...	90	36	150
Indian Corn ...	80	45	77
Barley ...	70	40	75
Milleta ...	80	50	60

Average increase 88 per cent.

* We need not be surprised to find that this is the selling price of paddy given in the Tajpur returns, yet Mr. Finucane overlooks this.

Mr. Finucane (*vide* p. 1736 of the *Gazette*, says, that information regarding the prices of barley and millets for the purpose of comparison is not available. Where, then, does he get his figures from? If they had been put up at haphazard simply to suit his figures for unhusked paddy, they ought to stand as in the table annexed with the figure corrected for paddy. That will give us something like the Bazar price of these cereals, and the table will then stand thus :—

B.

	Price in 1247 Fs. (1840 A.D).	Price in 1289 Fs. (1882 A.D).	Percentage of in- crease in prices since 1840.
	Seers 80 s. w. per rupee.	Seers 80 s. w. per rupee.	
Unhusked Rice (Dhan) ...	90	36	150
Indian Corn	80	45	77
Barley ...	70	28	150
Millets ...	80	32	150

Average increase, 132 per cent.

The great variety in the different kinds of paddy and the diversity in their prices are pretty generally known; this variety is oftentimes to be found in the same village; but Mr. Finucane's calculations take for granted that the paddy of the Ameen of 1840 was the same kind of paddy which yielded common rice sold in the bazars in 1882, for 25½ seers for the rupee. This may, however, appear to be a small matter; but there does not appear to be any reason why, in calculating averages, the price current of 1880 was not to be taken into account, simply on the ground that it was an abnormal year, that is, in other words, it would reduce the figure of the average. The average by taking the price rates of 1880 into account comes down to 22 seers rice for the rupee,—a figure which would correspond to 31 seers, 8 chuttacks of paddy, and the table in that case would stand thus, as regards the price of unhusked paddy :—

C.

	Price in 1247 Fs. (1840 A.D).	Price in 1289 Fs. (1882 A.D).	Percentage of increase since 1840.
	Seers of 80 s. w. per rupee.	Seers of 80 s. w. per rupee.	
Unhusked Rice (Dhan) ...	90	31½ seers	184

The following table gives the increase of rent-rates since 1840, according to Mr. Finucane's calculations :—

	Average rate per bigah in 1247 Fs. (1840 A.D.).			Average rate in 1289 Fs. (1892 A.D.) including <i>abwabs</i> ;			Percentage of increase in rent-rates since 1840.
	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	
Tubka Khas ...	1	1	3	3	1	9	188
Tubka Mgribi ...	1	1	3	1	14	9	80
Mohamodpur Sankara ...	* not given			3	12	0	—
Dulsinhaserai ...	* not given			3	1	9	—
Kooksa ...	* not given			5	5	3	—
Tubka Kissenpur ...	† 1	9	0	3	5	11	110
Raghupur ...	‡ 1	14	0	2	4	8	20
Gangowli ...	1	14	8	3	3	6	70

11. Now, we find from the above table that an important factor is wanting with respect to three villages, *viz.*, Mohamodpur Sankara, Dulsinghaserai and Kooksa. Mr. Finucane has not been able to ascertain the rate of rent prevalent in 1840, and it is thus impossible to apply the rule of proportion. In applying the rule of proportion, he can only take the actual rent-rate as the basis of his calculations: he is certainly not justified in constructing a table by assuming for his purpose a main factor. Nothing is more common than different rates prevailing in two neighbouring villages; in fact the diversity found in the same locality is so very great that the Board had to give up in despair the long-cherished idea of Government officials of constructing a table of rates. As regards two of the villages, Raghupur and Gangowli, the rent-rates have not kept pace with the increase of price of 73 per cent. of Mr. Finucane's table. They are certainly much lower than the increase shown in tables A, B, and C. The rent of Raghupur would have to be increased more than 50 per cent., if Mr. Finucane's idea was to be law. The rent of Gangowli would also have to be increased to

* Mr. Finucane gives the rate in his final report as Re. 1-1-3, the rate prevalent in neighbouring villages in 1840. With regard to Dulsinhaserai, he simply compares the rent-rates and prices of 1868 with the rent-rates and prices of 1882, and recommends reduction of the rent-rate of 1882 by 40 per cent.

† Mr. Finucane gives it as Re. 1-9, the rate found prevalent in a neighbouring village.

‡ Mr. Finucane remarks with reference to this village, that the enhancement of rates is not excessive with reference to increase of prices, and that the present rates are low compared with the rates of 1247 (1840 A.D.)

some extent. The rent-rate of Tubka Mugribi shows only a nominal increase over the rise of prices in Mr. Finucane's table, and is lower than the percentage of increase shown in the corrected tables A, B. and C.; the rent-rate of Tubka Kishenpur is also below the percentage of increase as shown in tables B. and C. The only village in which a nominal increase is shown is village Tubka Khas, and the explanation is not only to be found in what we have stated before, but also as it appears to us, after a careful manipulation of the figures in one of Mr. Finucane's tables, in one of his mistakes. We refer to the table headed abstract of Jummabundi (published at p. 1726 of the *Gazette*). Mr. Finucane gives the table thus:—

Abstract of Jummabundi for the year 1242 F. S. (1835 A. D.)

TOTAL AREA OF LANDS. 1.			2.	Detail of Cultivated lands. 3.			Rate of Rent per bigah. 4.		
B.	K.	D.	No.	B.	K.	D.	Rs.	As.	P.
424	13	9	1	0	7	10	6	0	0
			2	0	8	15	5	0	0
			3	0	15	0	4	0	0
			4	0	3	0	3	4	0
			5	1	9	10	3	2	0
			6	0	17	0	3	0	0
			7	1	0	0	2	11	0
			8	11	0	13	2	10	0
			9	9	17	8	2	8	0
			10	0	14	0	2	7	0
			11	5	14	0	2	6	0
			12	2	15	0	2	4	0
			13	16	6	11	2	0	0
			14	0	15	0	1	14	0
			15	2	5	0	1	12	0
			16	12	11	0	1	10	0
			17	32	11	10	1	8	0
			18	9	16	6	1	6	6
			19	1	16	13	1	6	0
			20	1	9	0	1	4	0
			21	81	7	10	1	0	0
			22	6	16	0	0	15	0
			23	8	16	0	0	14	0
			24	20	15	12	0	12	0
			25	3	0	0	0	10	0
			26	3	0	0	0	9	0
			27	19	5	0	0	8	0
			28	20	0	0	0	5	0
			29	7	2	10	0	2	0
			Bhowli.	19	13	0			

Now, by adding up the figures in column 3, we find that the total quantity of land cultivated at Nuckdi (cash-rates) in this village in 1835 was 282 bigahs, 15 cottahs, 17 dhura, while adding up the 19 bigahs, 13 cottahs held in Bhowli, we get the quantity of the culturable land of the village at 302 bigahs, 8 cottahs, and not 424 bigahs, 13 cottahs, 9 dhurs, as Mr. Finucane puts it in his table. It is doubtless a clerical mistake; but the mistake vitiates the whole of the calculation, and favours the side to which Mr. Finucane's mind leaned. By working up the rents from column 3 and column 4, the quantity of land and the rates, as in the table following the one below, we find that the total Jumma (rent) for the Nuckdi (cash) lands is Rs. 349-10-10, which gives us Re. 1-3-4 per bigah, but Mr. Finucane gives the Jumma, including the price of the share of the produce of the 19 bigahs, 13 cottahs Bhowli lands at Rs. 459-12-10½, and the rate per bigah on this total Jumma would be Re. 1-8. The average rate per bigah, in 1882, Mr. Finucane finds to be Rs. 3-1-9 from the Patwary's Jumma-bundi for that year, though here again, by working out Mr. Finucane's table, we find a different result, as we show below in our table; but taking for our purpose Rs. 3-1-9, as the average for 1882, the percentage of increase in rent since 1840 is as shown in the table below:—

	Average rate per bigah in 1247 Fs. (1840 A.D.)			Average rate in 1289 Fs. (1882 A.D.)			Percentage in- crease in rent- rates since 1840.
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
Tubka Khas ...	1	3	4	3	1	9	158
	1	8	0	3	1	9	104

12 We have only to remark that we have not had time to subject Mr. Finucane's other figures to a similar close scrutiny. To sum up, we have shown that a variety of causes, foremost amongst them competition and the prevalence of higher rents in the vicinity, have conduced to bring up the rent-rates in the tract examined by Mr. Finucane; that these rent-rates, compared with the rent-rates pronounced to be abnormally low by a competent authority, are not at all high; that they are not high with regard to the productiveness of the tract, when compared with the rent-rate of the tract examined by Babu Parbutty Charan Rai. That, as a matter of fact, the incidence of rent in the district of Mozafarpur as found from the Road-cess returns, is not at all high. That the valuation per square mile shows that the rent in Mozafarpur is lower than rents in several districts of Bengal. That Mr. Finucane was not at all justified in throwing out of his calculations the prices of other valuable products and framing his tables on the, prices of cereals alone; that even on that calculation, it has not at all been made out that the rents are high and are the result of illegal enhancement. That if private contracts were to be done away with, and only the method of Mr. Finucane adopted, in determining what is the equitable rate of rent, the rent-rate, in the tract examined by him would have to be raised all round, as the following table clearly shows, and not to be reduced, as he recommends:—

	Average rate per bigah in 1247 F's (1840) A. D.			Add 184 per cent. for increase in prices.			Total, being new all round rate.			Existing all round rate per bigah.			Percentage of increase on existing rates that will have to be made.
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	
Tubka Khas ...	1	3	4	2	3	4	3	6	8	2	9	2	38
Tubka Magribi ..	1	2	3	1	15	3	2	0	6	1	14	9	60
Tubka Kishenpur ..	1	9	0	2	13	0	4	6	0	3	5	12	30
Raghupur ..	1	14	0	3	6	0	5	2	0	2	4	8	228
Gangowli ..	1	14	8	3	6	0	5	2	8	3	3	6	60

13. One or two words more, with reference to Mr. Finucane's report, and we will have done with this part of our case. Mr. Finucane, who was deputed to ascertain the rates in the Narhun estates, appears to have travelled out of his jurisdiction, and examined the rates in some of the non-Narhun villages as well. The result of this enquiry Mr. Finucane embodies in his official report, to the Board (*see* p. 1721), and this part of his report has been largely quoted by Hon'ble Members in Council in support of the Bill. Mr. Finucane finds that while the average rate all round for Narhun villages is Rs. 3-6 per local bigah of land under cultivation, or Rs. 5-6-4 per acre, the average rate all round for the non-Narhun villages is Rs. 3-9-6 per bigah, or Rs. 5-12 per acre. That, as regards two villages, Damodarpur, and Jaizpatee, for which alone the data for comparison were available, the area under cultivation has increased 3 per cent. in the former village, and decreased 3-9 per cent. in the latter since 1247 Fs. (1840 A.D.), while the rental of these villages has increased by 200 per cent. and 500 per cent. respectively, in the same period. The facts as we have learnt from a reliable source are these: Damodarpur and Jaizpatee are resumed estates, and at the resumption proceedings in 1840, the Amin, who was deputed to make the local enquiry, fixed the assets at 151 rupees, without reference to the actual Jummaabundi. That at the date of resumption, lands under cultivation in Jaizpatee were 78 bigahs only, and the village used to be under water for a great part of the year, till long after, when the Malik (proprietor) had made bunds (embankments). Even on the Amin's Jummaabundi, the rent-rate appears to have been about 2 rupees, and the increase now is 350, and not 500 per cent. as Mr. Finucane has it. Mr. Finucane takes for granted that the original rent-rate was fair and equitable. This he may be warranted in doing by the rule of proportion as laid down by the High Court; but he should have borne in mind that in private dealings, either in this tract or elsewhere, people would not like to perpetuate a blunder by following a rule of proportion, if they knew that for some reason or other the main factor, *i.e.*, the original rent-rate, was not fair and equitable. Again, on the facts as reported to us, the reason of the rise in the rent-rate is at once clear. The proprietor has gone on making embankments (bunds) at considerable outlay, and has thus rendered the lands more productive.

14. Another matter not directly bearing on our present subject, but incidental to the question of the reform of the land-law, arising out of Mr. Finucane's report, is the absence of any custom of sub-letting or transferability of ryoti-holdings in the tract under Mr.

Finucane's examination. The ryots are now only beginning, at the instance of indigo planters and for the benefit of these latter, to part with their lands to indigo factories, under what is designated a *kurthali* system. Mr. Finucane says (p. 1724) "There are few sub-tenants : these few consist merely of farm-labourers, who are allowed by their employers to cultivate a bigah or so of their employer's land, either on the *battaia* system, or at the rates paid by the principal tenants themselves. The system of sub-letting ryoti lands to indigo factories, on what are called *kurthali* pottahs, is, I am informed by the Sub-registrar of Dulsingserai, being extended, but the cases of this kind which came under my notice were cases in which there was a dispute between the ryots and zemindar in villages held *khas* ; and in villages held under lease, they were cases in which it was alleged that the Dulsingserai factory wished to retain possession of *zirat* lands after the expiration of its lease, on the ground that such lands were sub-let to it by the ryots." Whether it is wise to give a longer rope to the ryot to hang himself, as the Bengal Tenancy Bill proposes to do, we leave our legislators to settle.

III.

1. We now come to Mr. Reynolds' memorandum, and to some other miscellaneous vague statements of various kinds, on which the charge of rack-renting in Behar is based. Mr. Reynolds compares the rental per square mile of several districts from the Road-cess returns, a method of enquiry to which his attention appears to have been directed by a note of the Behar Landholders' Association. This mode of enquiry, however, has one great defect, and this Mr. Reynolds overlooks : it takes for granted that the lands of all the districts under comparison are equally cultivated. As the result of this comparison, Mr. Reynolds finds that Behar is rack-rented ; but the figures which he has published in his note do not, however, establish his position. The figures for the districts of the Patna Division are as follows :—

	Rs.
Patna	2,760
Gya ..	1,500
Shahabad ...	1,300
Mozafarpur ..	1,471
Lurbhanganah..	1,922
Sarun ...	2,020
Chumparun	742

The average for the Patna Division is Rs. 1,635 per square mile, and, taking the following seven districts of Bengal, we find

that the average rental per square mile is higher than the average of the Patna Division :—

	Ra.
Burdwan ...	2,100
Hughely ...	2,100
Noakhally ...	1,900
24-Pergunnahs	1,500
Rajshahi ...	1,500
Backergunge	1,400
Rungpur ...	1,300

This does not show that the districts of the Patna Division are more rack-rented than the districts of Bengal named above. But, says Mr. Reynolds, "the question may be looked at from another point of view, by considering not the amount which is taken by the landlord, but the value of the share which is left to the ryot. While in Backergunge it is Rs. 15 for every rupee of rent the ryot pays, in Gya it is only Rs. 2 for each rupee of the rent." Now we ask, where did Mr. Reynolds get his figures from? Did he institute any enquiry in this matter? Well, no; for Backergunge Mr. Reynolds' words are "*it is said*, that in some parts of Backergunge, the rent is not more than *one-fortieth* of the gross produce. The average rent is *probably* double this, or *one-twentieth*; but *let us suppose* it to be even as much as *one-sixteenth*." Why leave the matter to guesses and suppositions, when a little enquiry would have been pertinent? As for Gya, Mr. Reynolds says "the landlord takes half the crop, and his share is never less than one-fourth of the produce." Here, again, we have no enquiry. We give below the figures for an average holding of a ryot in a Behar district. The area would be about 10 bigahs with a little homestead land for which no ground rent is charged. About 2 bigahs out of 10 would be *Dhi* (high) lands, and the rest *Tal* or *Bahursi*. The *Dhi* lands would, on an average, bear a rent of 6 rupees per bigah, and the *Bahursi* 2 rupees per bigah. The rent payable would be 28 rupees per annum, and the produce in an average year would be as follows :—

		Ra.	P.
10 Cottahs Poppy	2½ seers	11	0
————— Makai	5 mds.	5	0
1 Bigah Potatoe	25 mds.	30	0
————— Makai	10 mds.	10	0
10 Cottahs Seeds, vegetables of sorts, with Bhadoi crops,		15	0
8 Bigahs Bahursi if Dhanwar, 15 mds. per big. 120 mds.,		100	0
Nari Kesari, 3 mds. per bigah ...	...	16	0
————— Straw ...	...	20	0

Total Ra. 202 4 0

8 Bigahs Bahursi lands if Rabbi for wheat, pulses, oilseeds, &c.	} Yielding about the same price as the Dhanwar lands.
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2. In December 1875, Mr. Metcalfe, the Officiating Commissioner of the Patna Division, reported :—"In the present year there are excellent crops in some places, and none at all in others. Within seventeen years there have been five similar years, in each of which a certain part of the population has died of starvation ;" and he finds one of the causes of this state of things to be the following :—"That the cultivator is left with an area barely sufficient to raise the food he requires for his family, that in times of drought, having no margin of cultivation left, he is short of food, as the yield is below his requirements." According to Mr. Metcalfe, therefore, it is the smallness of the ryots' holding that is the cause of his woe. We are not told, however, what is the area of an average holding in Behar ; but granting that the area is comparatively small, what does it show ? That overpopulation, the exclusive devotion of the people to agricultural pursuits, and the sub-division of holdings, under the law of inheritance both Hindu and Mohamedan, are doing their work in diminishing the size of the Ryoti holdings, and that the land system of the province is not at all answerable for this result. If, as on the other hand we find, keen competition has not yet succeeded in raising rents to rack-rents, we ought to see therein the good will of the zemindars to their ryots, and the advantage of customary tenures, which we ought not to be in a hurry to abolish by a stroke of the pen.

3. Mr. Metcalfe's remarks appear primarily to have led to the deputation of Messrs. Geddes and MacDonnell to report upon the condition and prospects of the country. The full text of their report has never been given to the public. They ascribe the ryots' ills and woes to the precariousness of their tenure. Whether, owing to this precariousness, rents had risen to rack-rents, they do not say ; and they do not give us the facts on which they base their assertion. No authentic cases of illegal ejectment are found in the quotation from their reports, embodied in the despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India ; and, as a matter of fact, we know from the records of the Civil Courts, that ejectment suits in the districts embraced in their enquiry, are very few. Mr. Finucane in his enquiry finds that almost all the ryots in the tract examined by him have rights of occupancy, and that they have been holding their lands for a long time without any kind of disturbance. With all evidence, negative and positive, before us we can only set down Mr. Geddes' statement, that "the people who plough and sow, and who ought to reap, have not a reasonable

assurance as to the fruit of their industry," to high-flown rhetoric.* This, and other reports of the same kind, the text of which has never been published, led to the appointment of the Behar Rent Commission. But the moderate nature of their recommendations attests that Behar was not in that chronic state of disorder and insecurity of landed tenures which sensational writers had chosen to represent. Mr. Finucane's report was not before the Government of India when it indited its despatch to the Secretary of State for India in March 1882. The only evidence on which it thought fit to condemn the landed system of Behar as rack-renting, and to represent the condition of its ryots as low and depressed, was primarily the note of Mr. Reynolds and the vague statements of the sort we have pointed out before. An undue amount of importance is given to some of these statements in the speeches of the Members of Council.

IV.

1. The Committee of the Behar Landholders' Association in one of their notes give the following table of rent-rates, which they say they had collected from the Statistical Reporters:—

	Average rate of Rent per bigah		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Patna	1	6 0
Gya	0	11 0
Shahabad	1	0 8
Durbhanga	1	0 0
Mozafarpur	1	8 2
Sarun	1	7 1
Chumparun	0	14 6
Nudda	0	15 0
Jessore	0	14 10
Murshidabad	1	0 7
Dacca	0	14 6
Furidpur	0	12 0
Backergunge	1	6 6
Mymensingh		0	15 0

The Committee say "the above table shows the average Nuckdi rent per bigah in some of the important districts of Bengal and Behar.

* It is satisfactory to find that Mr. Geddes' colleague, Mr. MacDonnell, had soon reason to recant with respect to Sarun, one of the North Gangetic districts. Mr. MacDonnell's statements with reference to this district in 1879-80, i. e. three years after, is "Before I came to Sarun, I was aware that it was the most densely populated district in Behar, and the most highly cultivated. My information also was to the effect that the material condition of the people was low, and the mental impression thus created was strengthened by what I had read in the General Review of that year's Administration Report, and by the note on this head which my predecessor recorded for my information. The note was very expressive. 'The natural condition of the people,' said Mr. Pawsey, 'has been

If the result appears to be more favourable to the Bengal ryots than to the ryots of Behar, the reason is not far to seek; it is only the best lands in Behar that are held in Nuckdi, the inferior class being oftener held under Bhowli tenure. These Nuckdi lands of Behar never yield less than two crops, whereas a cultivator in Bengal scarcely raises more than one crop from his land. It will, perhaps, be asked why then are the actual cultivators of this province poor and poverty-stricken, and why every famine brings them to the point of starvation? No statistics, so far as the Committee are aware, are available to show whether the actual cultivators of this province had to seek gratuitous relief, or to engage themselves as day-labourers on relief works, during the famine of 1873. During the worst months of the famine year, *i. e.*, July and August, some of them had to seek for grain advances, which they contracted to pay back by yearly instalments, and that is all the measure of relief they required and received (*vide* Sir Richard Temple's Famine Minute). But it must be remembered that the famine of 1873 was exceptional in its character. It had been preceded by years of bad harvests."

2. According to the enquiry of the Committee of the Association, it was the great landless class that received most of the State relief, and it is this class which, compared with the corresponding class in Bengal, is really poverty-stricken. Neither the zemindar, nor the system of land-tenures, has, however, anything to answer for in this matter. The Committee, in their note, say "the mistake is too often made, that in describing the actual condition of Behar, whether in official reports or sensational pamphlets, the distinction between this class and the actual cultivators is lost sight of. On examination it will be found that there has been a greater upheaval of the masses in Behar than in Bengal, simply owing to their connection with land. Fifteen-sixteenths of the cultivating classes in Behar are drawn from the castes of Kurmis, Kairis, Ahirs (Gowalas), Rajputs and Babbhuns. Kurmis and Kairis are exclusively a cultivating class. It is well-known that these castes depend for their livelihood

as bad as could be, short of actual starvation.' I was therefore prepared to find in Sarun even greater poverty than I had found in North Behar.

"I have had a good deal of experience in the way of enquiries into the condition of the people in this province. In the course of such enquiries I have at one time or another travelled over all North Behar, Chumparun excepted. Since I joined this appointment I have seen every thing Sarun has to show in the way of varying conditions of social and economic life. The result is this: my first visit to the interior produced on my mind the impression that, compared with his fellow-subjects across the Gouduck and Ganges, the Sarun riot was a well-to-do man, and every day that has passed since has brought to notice something or other confirmative of that first impression."

on owning or holding land as cultivators or owners. Only a few of them in towns serve as gardeners, but even then they hold some land as cultivators on their own account, and regard service as supplemental and subsidiary. There is no doubt that the class is daily prospering, as it should, for there is hardly another class of industrious peasants to be found like it in India. Several of these peasants have now risen from the position of mere cultivators to that of owners or farmers of land, and it is they who are the money-lenders in their villages. The Ahirs (Gowalas) who form fully a sixth of the population of this province, are, besides their caste occupation of milk-men, in many cases cultivators. There are many persons of this class who are owners of estates or prosperous farmers. The mere cultivators are not at all badly off, and though not so industrious as Kairis and Kurmis, they make a good livelihood by supplementing the produce of their fields by what they get by tending their cows and buffaloes. As a rule, they are addicted to strong drink,* and it is on this account that they are found, though happily in very few cases, to be in poverty. The Babbuns and Rajputs are owners and farmers of estates, and are also cultivators. They never cultivate with their own hands, but have their cultivation done by hired servants. As cultivators they are the veritable terrors of their landlords, and it is doubtful whether there is a corresponding class of prosperous middlemen in Bengal like these Babbun and Rajput cultivators of Behar. To us it appears to be a gratuitous assumption to hold that the ryots of Behar are worse off than the people of their class in other parts of India, or that they are weaker than their landlords.† If they are at times found to be in debt, the reason must be sought for, to a great extent, in that great stimulant of Hindoo extravagance, marriage expenditure."

3. In Behar, socially, as regards the point of caste, the ryots in

* The district of Patna pays a greater amount of excise revenue than any of the other districts under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. With a population of 1,559,538, the district of Patna pays an excise revenue of Rs. 477,913, whereas Nuddea, with a population of 1,812,995, pays an excise revenue of Rs. 115,815 only, and the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad, Dacca, Furrudpur, Backergunge and Mymensingha, with populations of 2,075,021, 1,349,660, 1,870,256, 1,502,436, 1,887,586 and 2,349,917 pay excise revenues of Rs. 83,669, Rs. 166,281, Rs. 161,295, Rs. 42,312, Rs. 73,512 and Rs. 224,607 respectively. The other districts of Behar pay a comparatively greater amount of excise revenue than the districts of Bengal. We take the figures from the Administration Report of 1879-80. the figures for later years are worse.

† It may be interesting to those who are under the impression that the ryot in Behar is *depressed*, to know that here the germs of a *land league*, with the best of organisations, already exist in the Panchaits; a Kairi or Kurmi would be visited by his Panchait with the severest social punishments, if he were to take a settlement from the landlords of lands out of which a brother Kairi or Kurmi has been ejected.

many cases belong to the same class as the zemindar, and are oftentimes of his kith and kin. There is no social barrier which separates the landlord from his ryots, when they both belong to one caste, and the degree of education amongst them is about equal. There is, of course, no public opinion, as represented by the press, in Behar villages; but the sort of local public opinion, which is engendered by the feeling of caste and clanship, is much stronger; and the zemindars dare not disregard the feelings of his fellow-caste people. * The Behar ryot, like ryots in all parts of India, has a home, a family and his little society to move in, and within this circle he lives though in a less expensive style, just as the landlord whose lands he holds. His great ambition is to be the *ticcadar* of his village, and ultimately a part-proprietor, and chances are not long wanting to the thrifty and painstaking.

4. A great portion of the whole area of Behar is comprised in a few Rajes, Rajes which have hitherto withstood many a revolution in the land. Two of these big Rajes had been until lately under the management of the Court of Wards, and not a pice has been added to their rent-roll since the proprietors themselves assumed direct charge of their estates. The Doomraon Raj has been extolled by successive Lieutenant-Governors for its good management, and the Bettiah Raj is under the management of a European gentleman who has the honor of a seat in the Legislative Council of India. Another portion, and by no means an inconsiderable portion, of the province is held by indigo planters and by Government as *khass* mahals, and the remaining portion by zemindars, great and small, many of whom are very favorably mentioned in the Divisional Reports for the prudent management of their zemindaries. In the Council and outside the Council, the charge of rack-renting has, however, been brought against the zemindars of Behar as a class; and the object of this article has been to show on what slender basis of proof the charge rests. If we had space and time for invidious comparisons, we might have shown, that in the treatment of its ryots in *khass* mahals, as, for instance, in Deera Magarpal, Deera Kurji, in the district of Patna or escheated estates of Gya and Shahabad, Government, as proprietor, is worse than the most rack-renting zemindar of this province.

5. There is, however, clear evidence, that the condition of the ryots, far from deteriorating, as it would do, if there were anything intrinsically wrong, in the land-system of Behar, is improving year by year. The Officiating Commissioner, Mr. Edgar, in summing up the District Reports for the year 1879-80, thus states his general conclusions:—

“I have made unusually full quotations from the district and sub-divisional reports, because they seem to me to show, in spite

of considerable variations of opinion, that the keenest and closest observers discern a decided improvement in the condition of the people, and this coincides with the result of my own observations. Of course, in dealing with so large and complex a subject as this, there is great danger of making untrustworthy generalizations from insufficient data, and the difference so often found in the condition of tracts neighbouring one another warns us of the folly of making sweeping statements to cover all the facts of an area so great and so varied as that of Behar. Still, while keeping these considerations fully in view, I can state with some confidence that all the available evidence seems to point to a steady improvement in the material condition of the people throughout the division. In some places this improvement may be scarcely appreciable, and in most places it may be slow ; but in others, again, it is well marked and comparatively rapid. I would ascribe this mainly to the improvement of communications, and to the consequent rise of the price of agricultural produce ; but I think it is also in some measure due to a gradual, but very real, awakening of intelligence among all classes of the people."

6. We extract the following from the Administration Report of the Patna Division for the year 1880-81 :—

"The Collector of Mozafarpur states that the condition of the agricultural classes has been bettered by improved communication which opened out new markets for their produce.

"In Sarun, from which district the Collector, Mr. MacDonnell, in the previous year's report, took occasion to say that the people were in better circumstances than people of the same class in Tirhut, and that they did not present to him the impoverished appearance he had been led to expect, this satisfactory state of things has been maintained.

"Of Durbhanga, it is said that there has been a marked improvement in the condition of the people.

"The Collector of Patna considers that considerable improvement is manifest, both in respect of the actual condition of the people and of their increasing knowledge of the means necessary for their own defence against exactions, and in their pecuniary ability to avail themselves of these means.

"The material condition of the cultivators in the north of the Shahabad district is believed by the Commissioner to be above the average of Bengal and Behar, owing to the prevalence of tenant right in the form of *guzastha*-tenures and of occupancy rights.

"In Gya, the general state of the people is said to be slowly rising, though the Collector believes that the Bhowli system is a bar to improvement. The Commissioner differs from Mr. Kemble on this point, holding that, when wages are paid

in kind, the payment of rents in kind cannot be very detrimental.

"On the whole, the Lieutenant-Governor is gratified to be able to concur in the view expressed by Mr. Halliday that the province of Behar is not in that state of collapse and ruin which it has pleased some sensational writers to represent as its condition to the public during the past year."

7. In reply to an address of the Behar Landholders' Association, Sir Ashley Eden said in November 1881 :—

"You have quoted, from a speech made by me at Sonepur in 1877, certain remarks on the unsatisfactory condition of the ryots in Behar, and the evils of the Ticcadari system at that time, and you have also quoted extracts from the Administration Report of this year, showing how very much the condition of the peasantry has improved since then. I can assure you that nothing has given me greater pleasure than to notice, as I have had ample opportunities of doing, the extraordinary improvement in the condition of the people. It has made itself manifest in a hundred ways daily, even to the most casual observer. I hear the same story from people of all classes, official and non-official, and it is a matter for general congratulation."

One other quotation, and we have done. On the 14th February 1882, at the banquet dinner on the occasion of the installation of the Maharajah of Doomraon, Sir Ashley said :—

"I am very glad to hear your testimony to the prosperity and general happiness of the people of this part of the country. Your remarks are in accordance with the reports of the district officers of all parts of the province, and I trust there are many more years of good season in store for Behar to place it above fear of scarcity in future bad seasons."

"Whether it is as my friends, Mr. Levinge and Major Heywood, affirm, in consequence of the splendid system of canals constructed under their supervision, or whether it is from the superiority and security of the tenants' position compared with that position in other parts of Bengal, or whether it may also, to some extent, be due to the life and energy thrown into the agricultural development of the district, by those enterprising neighbours of the Maharajah who have converted the Jugdispur jungle into a garden, and have taught the people how to manage the property and make sugar, there is no doubt that this progress of Shahabad as a producing district has of late years been enormous, and I know no district in India in which I would sooner possess a large landed property than that in which we now are."

ART. XI.—NO AND YES.

One spake and said : Man hath abolished God ;
God's reign is ended, and the reign of Man
Begins ; the chain is loosed, broken the rod
That fettered us and scourged since Time began.

The night is over, risen is the Sun.

Rejoice, ye people that were sunk and bound
In misery and iron, the fight is won,
Your foe is vanquished, long-lost truth is found.

The ancient riddle is resolved at length,
The ancient lie that tortured us disproved,
Roused from false dreams Man shall renew his strength,
And feel the weight that crushed his growth removed.

The hideous figment that enslaved the world
Has perished, the foul snake that coiled its rings
Around the writhing soul at last is hurled
Into the limbo of dead hateful things.

No more shall on that unclean shrine be shed
Man's bitter sacrifice of blood and tears ;
Slain is the worm that on his heart was fed,
Whose murky pinions darkened all his years.

Bound by no tie, save human brotherhood,
Absolved from superstition's poisonous stain,
On to the true, the beautiful, the good,
Man, ever pressing, surely shall attain.

* * * * *

Another, listening, mused ; Is this indeed
The last result, the final goal of thought ?
And was it to evolve this crowning creed
That all the forces of all time have wrought ?

'Tis true with superstition's wars and woes
Time's record teems and every soil is red;
The noblest, turned to evil, basest grows,
The worst corruption from best source is bred.

But is it sure that no diviner ear
Than Man's has ever hearkened to their cry
Who deemed that somewhere there was one to hear
The myriad-throated wail of agony?

What of the great ones of old time whose trust
Was in a consciousness they held divine,
A power that on the unjust and the just
Alike, indeed, had bidden His sun to shine,

Whom mercy, truth and justice yet did please—
Were all the dead wise men who thus believed
A Kempis, Plato, Wordsworth, Socrates,
Mazzini, Milton, utterly deceived?

The burning faith of prophet and of seer,
The patient trust of them that work and wait,
Are these nought but illusion, but the sheer
Stupendous satire of a soulless fate

On human folly? Was there nought of truth
Behind the vision of the Will supreme
That dawned, ere yet the world had lost its youth,
On some who "did not dream it was a dream?"

The wondrous work, the many-sided mind
Of Man, imagination, science, art,
Have these all-blindly sprung from matter blind,
A growth wherein no consciousness had part?

Did primal atoms that had wildly clashed
Through myriad years in aimless, fruitless strife,
By some chance wave in some new order dashed,
Unwittingly evolve the germ of life?

Or doth some Master Purpose guide the march
Of Being from beginnings dark and deep,
Until at last through death's triumphal arch
It pass and into full fruition sweep?

Howe'er it be, they surely have not err'd
Who, hoping still that truth and love extend
Further than eye hath seen or ear hath heard,
Possessed their souls in patience till the end.

H. C. IRWIN.

THE QUARTER.

THE Bengal Tenancy Bill and the Calcutta International Exhibition, now successfully opened, have combined during the past quarter to distract public attention somewhat from the Ilbert Bill, but, in spite of this, that measure has maintained its position as the one absorbing public topic of the day. The development of events during the quarter has tended not only to sustain, but greatly to aggravate, the animosity of its opponents, and at the time of writing the European feeling against the Bill and its authors is probably more passionate and bitter than at any previous stage of the discussion.

The principal interest of this absorbing controversy has shifted its ground during the quarter from India to England. Here the question has at last attained its proper position in the front rank of political topics, and is being as hotly discussed on the platform and in the press as any question of domestic politics. Although this discussion involves much misrepresentation, and perhaps adds bitterness to an already sufficiently embittered controversy, it can scarcely be regretted on general grounds, as it must tend to disperse that depressing ignorance of, and indifference to, Indian affairs which is so regrettable a characteristic of the British Elector.

This awakening of interest has been mostly due to the arrival of Mr. Atkins, the delegate selected by the various working men's associations in this country to represent their objections to the Ilbert Bill to their brothers at home. Mr. Atkins arrived in England early in October and has since been diligently engaged in executing his commission, and has spoken vigorously at numerous meetings of working-men and others throughout the country. His efforts were at starting far from successful. His first public appearance was at the Annual Congress of Amalgamated Railway Servants of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, held at Edinburgh. At one of the meetings of this Congress, Mr. Atkins endeavoured to explain the nature of the strong objections which the European working-men in India felt towards this Bill, and enlarged on the dangers to which themselves, their wives and daughters would be subject in the event of its being passed. His address was listened to attentively but without appreciation, and at its close he was subjected to a series of 'badgering' questions which showed conclusively that his audience, well versed in Railway matters, were scarcely in a position to appreciate arguments based upon some acquaintance with

India. One delegate wished to know whether it was not true that one Hindu sect would count it an unpardonable sin to hurt even a fly, obviously meaning that people who were so scrupulously careful of the rights of insects might safely be entrusted with the guardianship of the liberty and character of European working-men. Finally, the Congress unanimously passed the following resolution :—

“That, in the opinion of this meeting, the policy of the Indian Government should be to freely open all official positions to every person, irrespective of race and creed, provided always that such person is duly qualified for the office.”

There is no doubt that this was intended as a distinct rebuff for Mr. Atkins, and it was so interpreted by the supporters of the Bill: but its opponents were perhaps justified in seeing, in the last clause of the resolution, a begging of the whole question.

This opening meeting has been followed by others held in all parts of the country, in which the Railway delegate, in no way disheartened by his chilling reception at Edinburgh, has read papers or delivered addresses with the same object in view. And it is quite clear that these meetings have met with a success for which the Edinburgh Congress scarcely prepared us. At all, resolutions condemning the Bill and demanding its withdrawal have been passed with only a slight opposition. This success has been all the more encouraging to those who oppose the measure, as it has been secured in the face of an organized attempt on the part of the Liberal Associations throughout the country to pack the meetings, and so prevent Mr. Atkins from gaining a patient hearing. There seems to be little doubt that this piece of strategy has been resorted to by these so-called Liberal Associations, and whatever may be our views on politics in general, or this measure in particular, it is impossible to avoid stigmatising this attempt to stifle freedom of discussion as a disgrace to those who have made it. Perhaps the most important of these meetings, and certainly that at which these party tactics were most fully patent, was a meeting of the Balloon Society held in the Westminster Aquarium under the Chairmanship of Colonel Malleon, at which Mr. Atkins read a paper on the Ilbert Bill. The Radical clubs of the neighbourhood had contrived to buy up most of the tickets issued by the Balloon Society for admission to this meeting, and the consequence was a very stormy discussion in which Mr. Atkins had the utmost difficulty in gaining a hearing for his views. In spite of this, however, a resolution strongly condemning the Bill was carried by a large majority.

Mr. Atkins has also addressed meetings at Exeter, Hartlepool, Hackney, Newport, Sheffield, and many other places. These have generally been working-men's meetings, but in some cases have been meetings of Conservative Associations, although, as a rule, he has endeavoured to steer clear of any identification with either political party. As an instance of this, we may mention a meeting at Hartlepool, attended by many leading local Liberals, at which a resolution was passed calling upon the Liberal Member to oppose the Bill in Parliament. But, besides these appearances of the Railway delegate, the Ilbert Bill has become a prominent topic upon which to base denunciations of the Government at those Conservative meetings which have been held in the autumn recess throughout England. Our old friend, Mr. Branson, whose oration at the Town Hall meeting in Calcutta, equally eloquent and imprudent, is still within our memories, has not been terrified into silence by the effect of his speech upon native feeling here, but has resumed his interrupted career of denunciation at home. He delivered a long oration against the Bill, marked by his usual violent eloquence, at a great Conservative meeting at Birmingham, and another at a meeting at Exeter. Mr. David Plunket, M. P. for Dublin University, who has a reputation for a cultured academic style of eloquence, delivered two impassioned orations against the Bill at Brompton and Chelsea, which attracted great attention, and are said to have produced a deep impression on public opinion. The Conservative leaders, the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, have also expressed their opposition to the measure, though in somewhat guarded terms.

Simultaneously with this elevation of the Ilbert Bill into a platform question at home, a keen controversy has been going on in the daily and weekly papers and the monthly magazines, regarding its policy or impolicy, and the arguments *pro* and *con*, with which we have so long been familiar in India, are being placed before the British public with great force on both sides. We need not here refer to the general run of daily papers, except to say that several of the leading Liberal organs of the provinces display in its discussion an amount of ignorance and prejudice that is perfectly astonishing, considering the general enlightenment of the Liberal press. The cause represented by the Ilbert Bill would certainly gain if its advocates in the daily press at home relied less upon some high-sounding formula from the litany of Liberalism, and more upon arguments based upon a knowledge of our position in India and the complex relations of European and native society. When we find a journal of the reputation and character of the *Liverpool Daily Post*, edited by so hard-headed

a reasoner as Mr. Edward Russell, supporting the decision of the Edinburgh Railway delegates by reproducing the old exploded charges against the European non-official community of systematically and brutally ill-treating the natives, and sneering at their pretensions to have their claims considered by reminding them that they are only "interlopers," our regret at the bitterness and violence of the present controversy is considerably modified by the prospect of having such ignorant prejudices finally exploded, and the true position and claims of the largest section of our European community here duly recognised at home. The *Times* and other daily papers have republished from the *Gazette of India* the opinions of the local authorities, and there can be no doubt that the almost unanimous condemnation of the Bill by the officials consulted has made a very deep impression upon public opinion. Some time back, there seemed no possibility of the Liberal party treating the Bill in any but a party light, and the divisions of opinion were almost strictly on party lines. But if the present controversy goes on at home, there seems to be some chance that by the time the question comes up for Parliamentary discussion, if that time ever arrives, the published opinions of so many Indian officials adverse to the Bill, and the arguments and reasoning of its prominent opponents here and at home, may have made so many converts that the result of a division may not be quite such a foregone conclusion.

We may here refer briefly to the principal contributions to the controversy on either side. The most weighty presentation of the arguments against the Bill has been conveyed in two letters by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen to the *Times* published early in November. These letters are the result of a careful study of the opinions of the local authorities, of which Sir Fitzjames Stephen says "I have read them carefully from end to end, and they appear to me to supply clear proof that the arguments against the Bill are conclusive; I should have added that they also show the arguments in its favour to be imperceptible, if it were not true that some highly distinguished persons think otherwise. I will try to give my reasons for this in a form intelligible to English readers." The letter then resolves itself into an attempt to explain to those ignorant of Indian affairs the precise bearing of the measure upon the interests of the European population and the standing of native officials. Mr. Justice Stephen shows that originally "the English in India were subject not only to a different set of criminal courts, but to a different code of criminal law from the natives," and that the improvements which have taken place during the last half century have had for their tendency and object "not to alter the law to which Englishmen

were subject, but to extend what was substantially English law to natives." He then explains how, on the ground of administrative inconvenience, jurisdiction over Europeans was extended in 1861 to various provincial High and Chief Courts, the privilege of trial by Jury remaining untouched. When, owing to the increasing European population, this extended jurisdiction was still found insufficient, Europeans were in 1872 made liable to imprisonment up to a year upon conviction before a Sessions Judge, and up to three months on conviction before a Magistrate of the first class. "Down to this time, no Englishman in India could be deprived of either his liberty or his life upon a criminal charge, unless he was convicted by a jury of Englishmen." When, in the code of 1872, they were deprived in certain cases of this right of trial by jury, it was understood that this was only surrendered on condition "that, in cases in which, before this time, they had a right to English juries, they should now have a right to English Judges." Mr. Stephen thus makes out with great force that the privilege of being tried by English Judges was a substitute for the greater privilege of being tried by English juries, which the Europeans surrendered quietly, recognising the inconvenience of the existing law, but only on the clear understanding that this smaller privilege was substituted in its stead. This is the great point in Mr. Justice Stephen's first letter. "Englishmen ought not to lose the privilege of trial by a jury of their countrymen, or, when the judge of fact and law is one and the same person, of trial by a countryman, merely because the general system of criminal justice which they established in India, to its advantage, does not, and cannot, include trial by jury." He then reproduces for the English public, with great clearness and force, the arguments with which we in India are already so familiar, tending to show that the Europeans are altogether justified in their demand that this right of trial by their own countrymen should be preserved to them, as the only means of securing to them impartial justice in the peculiar relations in which they stand towards the native populations. In his second letter Mr. Stephen devotes his arguments to showing that this privilege of Europeans involves no slight to native judges. He re-states his well-known proposition "that the privilege of jurisdiction is the privilege of the prisoner, not the privilege of the judge," and proceeds:—

"I think that a Judge not only may, but ought in justice to himself, to resent any distinction between himself and his colleagues which does not rest on solid avowable grounds, and which affects in any way his rank or his pay, or implies that he is less fit than they are to discharge the general duties of his office. He ought, in short, to resent any distinction which implies that he is their moral, social, or intellectual inferior. Any one who tamely acquiesced in such a distinction would, I think, act in a manner unbecoming of a man of spirit. If, however, he is in these essential respects on an

equality with other members of his class, I think that he ought to be satisfied, and that if, for some grave public reason, it is thought advisable to make between the duties of different members of the same class a distinction which implies no moral, social, or intellectual inferiority, which in no way affects rank or pay, and which involves nothing more than a division of labour, a Judge ought to acquiesce in it, whether he thinks it wise or not, remembering that Judges, like all other official persons, are made for the public, and not the public for the Judges."

The arguments against the Ilbert Bill have never been more forcibly and more temperately expressed than in these two important letters of Mr. Justice Stephen.

On the other side, we need here only refer to a letter from Mr. W. W. Hunter to the *Times* which states succinctly the views of those who support the measure. His argument may be briefly stated thus: By a long series of pledges given by successive Secretaries of State, by Parliament, and by Her Majesty the Queen, we have succeeded in securing the loyalty of the native populations of India. The proposed extension of criminal jurisdiction over Europeans to native judges is directly involved in these pledges. Faith in our word has made the natives loyal subjects—now that their loyalty is ensured, shall we break these pledges so solemnly given? Mr. Hunter discusses some of the arguments advanced by the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, notably that based upon the rapidly diminishing numbers of native competition civilians, and the alleged total unfitness of the statutory civilians for any such responsibility. Mr. Hunter shows that in the Regulations for the appointment of the new statutory civilians ratified by Parliament, it was expressly stipulated that there should be no distinction whatever between the statutory civilians and their covenanted native fellows, but that both were to be treated in every sense as one body. Adopting this view, Mr. Hunter therefore pays no heed to the arguments of the High Court Judges showing the unfitness of the statutory civilians for the new privilege, but passes on to develop the statement made by him in the Legislative Chamber, namely, that native civilians trained at home come out here "more English in thought and feeling than Englishmen themselves." This statement, received with some surprise, Mr. Hunter now caps by showing that these native civilians are better qualified to try Englishmen than the European members of the same service. One-half of the native Bengal civilians are barristers-at-law and members of some Inn of Court, whilst only one-thirteenth of the European civilians of the same province possess this high qualification for judicial functions. Every one of the five senior native civilians interested in this question of jurisdiction is a barrister-at-law. Mr. Hunter's arguments would, perhaps, have been more convincing, if he had faced the question of the fitness of statutory civilians for this extended

jurisdiction boldly, instead of avoiding it by an obvious subterfuge. We are glad, however, to observe from a telegram just received that Mr. Hunter has in a subsequent letter applied himself to proving the fitness of this class of civilians for the functions that it is proposed to bestow upon them, although, as details are wanting, it is impossible to estimate the weight of his arguments.

In India itself, the animosity and ill-feeling engendered by the Bill has passed, we regret to say, into an acuter stage during the quarter. The opponents of the Bill expected, rightly or wrongly, that the almost unanimous expression of opinion against the Bill by the authorities consulted would be followed either by its withdrawal, or by some authoritative announcement of radical modifications and, as time has gone on, and Government has made no sign, the public exasperation has grown to a most regrettable pitch. A personal element has been introduced into the controversy which is in every way to be deplored. The most unpleasant development in this direction has, perhaps, been in connection with the guard-of-honour usually supplied by the Calcutta Volunteers to receive the Viceroy on his return to his capital. The opponents of the Bill have angrily discussed the question whether, in the present state of feeling, such a guard should be supplied according to custom, and have advised all volunteers who felt that the Ilbert Bill was an invasion of their most cherished rights, to hold aloof from the guard-of-honour, lest their presence might be misinterpreted into an approval of the viceregal policy. Controversy on the subject has raged during the quarter, and has been interesting as involving the whole question of the relations between the civil and military character of volunteers although greatly to be regretted on account of its bitterness and personality. For ourselves, we are strongly of opinion that the advice given to the volunteers was altogether unsound, and inconsistent with the true position of our citizen soldiers. There can be no real discipline, and no military efficiency, amongst the volunteers as a body, if their feelings, opinions, and animosities as citizens are allowed to intrude themselves into the parade-ground. It may be answered that the present was a supreme trial: but the rules and principles that are to guide ordinary everyday life apply equally to supreme occasions, and are, indeed, tested by them. At home, where the question is being more calmly discussed, and where the excessive bitterness of personal animosity which it has excited here does not come into play to warp the judgment, this is fully acknowledged even by the most ardent opponents of the Bill. *The St. James's Gazette*, friendly neither to the Ilbert Bill nor to Lord Ripon, remarks in this connection: "Whatever Lord Ripon may do or ordain, it is the duty

of Englishmen in India to show that their loyalty is to the Crown, not to the person to whom for a moment authority is delegated."

The angry tension of public feeling on the matter, of which this is a token, has been further intensified by the receipt of a telegram from home conveying in brief terms the statement, that at the Colston dinner at Bristol, Lord Northbrook had made an announcement embodying the Government decision on the measure. This was to the effect that Lord Ripon had recommended the restriction of the new powers of jurisdiction over Europeans to native district Magistrates and Sessions Judges, and that Her Majesty's Government, accepting these modifications, intended to support Lord Ripon in carrying the measure in this restricted form. This announcement has been received in India with a storm of indignation. Europeans here are stung to the quick to find that, whilst they have been waiting for months in a passionate suspense for some whisper of their fate from the government of the country, and have been brought to the pitch of frenzy by what seemed the studied silence of their rulers, the decision of the Ministry should be conveyed lightly in an after-dinner speech by a Cabinet Minister to a provincial audience in England. This is probably a result of the peculiar etiquette between the Secretary of State and the Government of this country, and it is easy to understand that this etiquette prevented any authoritative declaration being made here until the arrival of official despatches from home: but, be that as it may, it is one of the most regrettable incidents in this regrettable controversy, and might have been arranged so as to add as much fuel to the fire as possible. It has been the signal for a revival of stormy meetings all over North India, at which a set of resolutions framed by the Defence Association have been unanimously passed. These resolutions are here given in full to indicate the attitude of those affected by the measure, and the effect of Lord Northbrook's impolitic after-dinner revelations.

"1. Inasmuch as it is evident that the Government is determined to force the Ilbert Bill into law, in defiance of the collective opinion of the European and Anglo-Indian community, and in contempt of the opinions invited by the Government from its own officers, it has become necessary for that community to express its emphatic disapproval and condemnation of the arbitrary and unjustifiable abuse of the powers with which the Government has been entrusted by the British nation.

"2. Strong doubts have been entertained and expressed by competent and responsible authorities as to whether the Indian Legislature is vested with legal powers to pass such a measure as the Ilbert Bill, without having been specially authorised by an Act of Parliament for that purpose: accordingly, this meeting is unanimously resolved to adopt concerted measures with the rest of the European and Anglo-Indian community to dispute its validity, and to render inoperative, by the legitimate means within their power, an Act which, if passed without such authority

this meeting has cogent and well founded reasons to believe would be an unconstitutional usurpation of legislative powers, and, as such, of no legal obligation or moral sanction.

"3 Even supposing the Indian Legislature were armed with valid powers to pass such an Act, this meeting strongly protests against the legislative machinery of this great British dependency being employed to introduce a vicious and mischievous principle, in order to confer special and unnecessary criminal jurisdiction upon eleven natives, not more than three of whom would, if the Bill were passed, be in a position to exercise it, and at the same time to deprive a British community, consisting of upwards of 2,04,000 persons, of an inherited and cherished right.

"4. This meeting desires to record its unanimous conviction that, in opposing the principle which is sought to be enforced by the Ilbert Bill, the members of the European community are actuated by no feeling of ill-will towards the natives of India, to whom, on the contrary, they are most kindly disposed; and that, in protesting against the despotic and arbitrary course pursued in regard to this and other inequitable measures by the present Government of India, they are protecting and promoting the best interests of the whole community, native as well as European.

At the first meeting of the Legislative Council held in Calcutta on Friday, December 8th, which was looked forward to with intense interest by the European community, His Excellency the Viceroy made a statement regarding the Ilbert Bill, which, besides confirming Lord Northbrook's announcement at Bristol, explained the long silence which the Government of India has maintained, and which has done so much to exasperate public feeling. This explanation was what might have been anticipated by those at all acquainted with the relationship between the Secretary of State and the Indian Government. With regard to this long silence, Lord Ripon explained that the despatch from the Secretary of State conveying approval of the proposed modifications had only arrived on the previous Saturday, "and that, consequently, this is the first opportunity which has been afforded me for making any statement with regard to this matter." With reference to another complaint against the Indian Government, that it had unduly delayed the publication of the official opinions on the Bill, Lord Ripon explained, that this could not be done until the Secretary of State had intimated that he had no objection to their publication, and was done at the earliest moment possible after the receipt of such intimation. Lord Ripon also stated that the petition of the Defence Association, that any further proceeding with regard to the Bill should be postponed till Parliament had had an opportunity of discussing the question and pronouncing an opinion upon it, related to a matter which was essentially and entirely in the hands of Her Majesty's Government, lying altogether outside the province of the Government of India. This petition had, therefore, been forwarded to the Secretary of State, who had ruled that there was no reason for postponing the measure

till the meeting of Parliament. These statements of Lord Ripon's make it clear that the battle of the Ilbert Bill must be fought out at home, and ought to have the effect of diverting the attack of the Defence Association from Lord Ripon's Government here to Her Majesty's Ministry in England.

It is pleasant to turn from this painful question of the Ilbert Bill even to so unpromising a subject as the Bengal Tenancy Bill. It is perhaps unfortunate for the opponents of this measure that the surpassing interest of the former Bill serves to prevent any great attention being paid to what is, it may be, of at least equal importance. During the *quarter* under review, however, considerable attention has again been directed toward it by the publication, in the *Gazette of India*, of the opinions of Bengal officials, and by a large and imposing meeting of landholders in the Town Hall of Calcutta to protest against its enactments. The opinions of the selected officials and others to whom the Bill was referred, together with an elaborate and weighty minute by the Lieutenant-Governor, occupy over 300 pages of a supplement to the *Gazette of India*. This, like the opinions on the Ilbert Bill, is another striking case of the reversal of the historic action of Balaam, as the officials called on to bless have, if not exactly cursed, gone as near to cursing as official propriety will admit. The Bill meets with a general, but by no means a hearty, approval from about one-fourth of those consulted, whilst about one-half express their unqualified condemnation of its principles and anticipate grave and lasting troubles from their enforcement. The Lieutenant-Governor in his minute goes fully into all the chief enactments of the measure, and concludes by stating his general approval of its principles in the following terms:—

"In bringing his remarks on the present occasion to a close, Mr. Rivers Thompson would again say, that although on some points he has not been able to approve the Bill as drafted, and has felt himself constrained to make suggestions at variance with some of its provisions, he is still bound to repeat, that if modified on those points, the Bill, in his opinion, will be a constitutional and successful effort to remedy abuses which unquestionably exist very widely, and whose continued existence is incompatible with the peace and prosperity of these Provinces."

With regard to one objection strongly urged against the Bill, and insisted on with some force by many of the officials consulted, that the conditions of land tenure in Bengal and Behar differ so widely that no general rent law is admissible, Mr. Rivers Thompson remarks:—

"In the first place I offer a few observations on the propriety of legislating for the whole of these provinces in one Bill, as the proposal to do so meets with some opposition. It will be within the knowledge of the Government

of India that doubts on the point, suggested at an early stage of this discussion, were formulated by Mr. Reynolds in the note which is printed in Appendix IV, Vol. I. of the Report submitted by the Bengal Government in 1881; but Sir Ashley Eden on full consideration of the subject, thought separate Bills unnecessary, believing that, "if his proposals for basing the occupancy right on a broad and popular basis throughout the whole of the Lower Provinces met with approval, and if the Improvements suggested by him in the law of distraint were accepted, the matters calling for exceptional treatment in connection with Behar would be practically reduced to two, *viz.*, the disposal of claims to *zerat* lands, and the regulation of the procedure for the regulation of rents in kind."

These remarks of his predecessor, as well as to the arguments advanced by Mr. Reynolds and others in favour of separate legislation for Bengal and for Behar, the Lieutenant-Governor has given his careful attention; and while he admits that differences do exist between the two portions of these provinces in some respects, he is not prepared to say that they are such as call for divided treatment. It is true that in Bengal the demand for legislation came, in the first instance, from the landlords, who urgently pressed for increased facilities for enhancing and realising rents, while in Behar the cry was from the ryots for protection from illegal enhancement and ejectment. It is also true that in Bengal the extent to which sub-infeudation has gone produces difficulties in adjusting the mutual relations of proprietor, tenure-holder, and ryot, while in Behar those difficulties are less developed. It is further true that in some districts of Behar the system of corn-rents is far more prevalent than in the districts of Bengal Proper. But granting all this, an examination of these points of apparent difference will show that the differences are of degree, rather than of essence; while in Bengal we have well-marked instances of the same evils which depress industry and disturb the public peace in the Patna Division. If ejectment, as a means of extorting enhanced rents, widely prevails in Behar, evidence is not wanting that a similar practice is in vogue even in the most forward district of Bengal. Does a Behar zemindar or thikadar attach the whole crop of the ryot to compel payment of an increased *jumma* or of legally irrecoverable arrears?—the Bengal zemindar applies corresponding pressure through suits for monthly kists, or through some other legal device, in order that he may (as one recently ventured to tell a sub-divisional officer) "by hook or by crook" raise the rents and break the rates. Where Behar landlords shift their ryots from field to field (as they have admitted they do) to prevent the growth of prescriptive rights, the Bengal zemindar can apply no less potent pressure, if one may judge from the "agreements" which are registered in such widely different districts as the 24-Pergunnahs and Mymensingh. In Bengal and Behar alike, the efforts of landlords are directed towards the same end—enhancement of rent, prevention of the growth of tenant right, and its destruction where it has grown up; and if in Bengal they are not so successful in their efforts as in Behar, that is not because of any dissimilarity of aim. The same evil demands the same broad line of treatment in all portions of these provinces. To prescribe every variation of detail to suit local circumstances is not within the compass of any law; these variations must be worked out in practice by the applications of the broad principles of the law to individual cases by the courts or other authorities entrusted with the administration of the Act."

The meeting of Bengal and Behar Landowners, held in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 17th November, under the Presidency of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, had for its object the adoption

of memorials to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, praying the former to direct that no further proceedings be taken in the matter of the Bill until he has had an opportunity of reconsidering his decision with reference to the facts stated in the memorial, and the latter to postpone the Bill until the Secretary of State has had time to fully consider these representations. The view taken by the meeting was that only one side of the question had been presented to the Secretary of State by the Government of India, and that his approval of the Bill had been based upon the excessively partial statements placed before him. The zemindars, therefore, demand that their side of the question should receive an equally patient hearing, and that further action should be postponed pending the consideration of the case for the zemindars, which has not yet been stated. The memorial adopted by this meeting is a detailed and able discussion of the Bill from the zemindars' point of view, based upon the Regulations of Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement, and the condition of land tenures previously existent. It is interesting to note, that although the Ilbert Bill has here in India thrown into the shade the agitation against the Tenancy Bill, it has had precisely the contrary effect in England. The excitement created by the Ilbert Bill has created an interest in Indian affairs which previously did not exist, and, as a consequence, the Tenancy Bill has attracted its full share of attention and is being discussed in the press in a way that would scarcely have been possible a year ago. Mr. Roper Lethbridge, well known to our readers as a former editor of the *Calcutta Review*, read a paper on the Bengal Tenancy Bill at a meeting of the East India Association in St. James's Hall early in November, in which he stigmatized the Bill as a "magnificent measure of spoliation," a view adopted all but unanimously by the meeting. This has introduced the question to the arena of public discussion at home, and we note that the opinions of the Liberal press are not so uniformly in favour of the measure as in the case of the Ilbert Bill, and that there is a strong tendency to treat Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement with a respect which interferes somewhat with party views. Although it is, to a certain extent, gratifying to find Indian affairs taking their proper place in the interest and attention of the community at home, it will not be altogether a subject of congratulation if they come to be judged, as seems likely, entirely on party grounds as affecting the position of the Ministry of the day.

Of other events during the quarter, the opening of the Calcutta International Exhibition certainly demands more than

passing attention. It is the first Exhibition of an International character ever held in India, and the share which the Government of Bengal has taken in its inception and preparation has been based upon the hope of giving a new and powerful impulse to the trade and industries of the Indian Empire. Although the influence of exhibitions on the development of trade has no doubt been considerably exaggerated, their increasing popularity amongst the leading trading countries of the world indicates that this influence is real and powerful. The prospect of bringing home to foreign nations, in a forcible and effective way, a knowledge of the undeveloped and unnoticed resources of India, and of giving to India a truer notion of the benefits to be gained from more extended intercourse and trade with other Colonies, to quote the words of Colonel Trevor's report was more than sufficient to justify the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in giving to M. Joubert's scheme official sanction and active official aid. Although the peculiar relations between M. Joubert and the Government in the undertaking have not been without their disadvantages, and have required very delicate management, there can be no doubt that the combination of private and official effort thus brought about has resulted in making the Exhibition far more complete and satisfactory than would otherwise have been possible under the circumstances. With the laudable object above referred to, the Government of Bengal has exerted itself to the utmost to make the Exhibition a splendid success, and has placed every facility at M. Joubert's disposal to counteract the peculiar difficulties attendant upon an International Exhibition held in India. And, in spite of the somewhat ill-omened opening, due to the unusually inclement weather, it is impossible not to recognise that, by the innumerable exhibits from India and abroad which are here effectively displayed, and by the active intercourse now going on between all parts of the world and Calcutta in connection with the Exhibition, there is every prospect of a permanent stimulus being given to Indian manufactures and commerce. There are, however, no signs so far of that anticipated influx of visitors from all parts of the world, which is perhaps necessary to make the undertaking financially successful, and, although the beneficial effect upon the development of trade may be independent of this, we trust, for M. Joubert's sake, who certainly deserves well of India, that in the ensuing months the hopes of sufficient visitors to make the undertaking pay will be more than realized.

The 17th December 1883.

POSTSCRIPT.

DURING the past fortnight, the whole aspect of the Ilbert Bill controversy has undergone a transformation, almost theatrical in its suddenness. On Saturday, December 22nd, without any previous indication of what was coming, there appeared in the daily papers a communication from the Defence Association to the effect that a *concordat* had been arranged with the Government, the general features of which were as follows :—

1. No Native, other than a Native District Judge, and a Native District Magistrate, is to exercise Criminal Jurisdiction over European British subjects.

2. The European British subject in every such case (inclusive of offences triable by a District Magistrate) is to be entitled, as of right, to be tried by a Jury, the majority of whom shall consist of European British subjects.

3. This right, moreover, is to be conferred even in non-Jury Districts.

4. This right is to apply in every case triable by a District Magistrate even when such Magistrate is himself a European British subject.

5. The result of this agreement will be to establish upon a permanent basis, and, as a matter of final legislation, this principle—the rights and liberties of European British subjects in criminal matters will in every case be safe-guarded by a decision or verdict of men of their own race.

On Monday, December 25th, this startling announcement was supplemented by the following additional communication from the Defence Association :—

“That no misunderstanding should arise, the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association supplement their communication of Friday evening last by giving the exact terms of the Concordat on the subject of the Criminal Procedure Code :—On the basis of the modifications approved in the Secretary of State’s despatch, the right to be given to European British subjects, when brought for trial before a District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, to claim trial by Jury, such as is provided for in Section 451 of the Criminal Procedure Code, subject to the following conditions :—

1.—No distinction to be made between European and Native District Magistrates and Sessions Judges.

2.—The powers of District Magistrates under Section 446 of the Code to be extended to imprisonment for six months, or a fine of two thousand rupees.

The Executive Committee of the Defence Association will accept this understanding as a settlement."

The effect of these unexpected announcements has been to put an immediate and almost complete stop to the violent and painful agitation which has so long been distracting the country. The compromise thus indicated has been accepted by the European community as a satisfactory concession to their claims and a full recognition of what they have maintained to be their just and inalienable rights, and the storm that a fortnight ago raged so dangerously has been succeeded by a sudden, and it may be unnatural, lull. There are not wanting, however, warning voices to point out that this compromise possesses no elements of stability, and that in all likelihood the present feeling of satisfaction is merely a temporary and evanescent incident which must by and by be succeeded by a renewal of strife. The restoration of the right to a jury, a majority of whom shall be European British subjects, is offered to the European community as a compensation for their acquiescence in the jurisdiction of native judges. The right of trial by jury was abandoned in 1872, because it was admitted on all hands to be altogether impracticable in this country, and to involve in many cases a denial of justice. It is now proposed to restore this right universally. But nothing has yet been advanced to show that trial by jury, abandoned in 1872 as impracticable, has again become practicable in 1883. The conditions of life in the Mofussil may have altered somewhat during the last decade, but it may be reasonably questioned whether they have so far changed as to make the trial of Europeans by a jury of their own countrymen less inconvenient and unsatisfactory than it was acknowledged to be 11 years ago. It seems probable that, if this compromise is passed into law, in a few years the exaction of this right by Europeans on trial will be found, as before, to involve such an intolerable obstruction to the speedy and sure administration of justice that a revision of the law will again be necessary, and the battle will be joined once more on the old issues.

It were better, perhaps, that it should be fought out and done with now, once for all, than that the conditions of its present settlement should involve a provision for the periodical renewing of the dangerous strife which has wrought so much evil to India during the year that is ended. It is possible, however, that the Bill as finally drafted may contain provisions not yet revealed which may throw a new light upon this strange *concordat*. We await, then, with much interest the meeting of the Legislative Council on January 4th, when no doubt a fuller explanation of the provisions of what is practically a new Bill will be made public, and the methods by which trial by jury may be restored without obstructing and retarding the administration of justice will be fully explained.

December 31st, 1883.



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ART I.—A PLEA FOR COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS.

A recent resolution of the Bengal Government has introduced a change in the constitution of the Subordinate Executive Service, the great importance of which seems to have been overlooked by the press generally in the midst of angry discussions on other matters. The appointment of Munsiffs rests mainly in the hands of the High Court, and the High Court has almost always used a wise discretion in the matter, by nominating men who have passed the B. L. examination, and have also had some years' experience as pleaders. The appointment of Deputy Magistrates, on the other hand, has rested with Government, and Government has not hitherto adhered to any strict rule regarding qualification in making these appointments. The result has been that, while in the case of Munsiffs we have some guarantee of ability and education, in the case of Deputy Magistrates we have none,—except, of course, the presumption which must exist in every case, that an officer would not have been appointed to so responsible a post if he had not proved his fitness for it to the satisfaction of Government in some way or other. The presumption, one regrets to say, is not infrequently rebutted by sad experience.

The resolution referred to above substitutes competition in place of the existing rules, whatever they are, as the sole condition for admission into the Subordinate Executive Service. The change thus introduced is a sound and healthy one, and will in the long run vastly improve our administration, by improving the tools by which the administration is carried on. It is of the utmost importance to have men of education, rectitude and ability

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for the Subordinate Executive Service, and, in my opinion, competition is as good a test for these qualities as any that can be devised.

I am not sure that the last proposition will receive the assent of all. In the first place there are those who believe in patronage, and that large class who hope to profit by patronage. My reply to these persons will be that, however desirable it may be to treat with kindness and courtesy young men of rank and position in native society, ability, education and rectitude should be the sole conditions for admission into the Executive Service. An act of kindness towards a young man of rank is misplaced, if it tells in the long run on the efficiency of our administration. The loyalty and good will of a titled family, secured by the appointment of a young member to a responsible post, scarcely compensates for the weakening of the administration of which he is often the cause, for the trouble and additional work which he gives his superiors by his inefficiency, and for the dissatisfaction which he creates among the people with whom he has to deal through the want of a trained judgment, or habits of application. For obvious reasons I will not dwell on this subject longer, but I repeat that the selection of able and upright officers is so essential to good administration that no collateral considerations should influence us in this matter. Education, rectitude and ability should be the sole passports to appointment in the Subordinate Executive Service.

I must treat with greater respect the opinion of those officers who honestly believe that we can get really better men by careful observation and nomination, than by a competitive examination. I know there are men, and very able men too, in our service, who think that a District officer may, by carefully watching the work of his subordinates, often succeed in selecting abler men for the executive service than an examination can turn out. There is so much apparent force in this argument that I should have hesitated to meet it if I had not been very strongly convinced, by repeated instances, that this plausible theory is utterly disproved by experience.

There are two causes which often mislead heads of offices in their judgment. They often fail to notice the weak points in their clever subordinates whom they consider fit for high appointments; and they often fail to notice the good points in the young men from colleges or examinations, with their somewhat priggish manners and ignorance of the commonest office details. The first of these blunders is the more misleading of the two. Clever and able ministerial officers often win the golden opinion of their superiors. They appear to be so smart

in their work, draft reports so well, are so thoroughly acquainted with the circulars of the Board, the High Court, or the Government, possess so thorough an experience of the province or district, and often point out to the District officer himself, so ably and yet so respectfully, how a thing is to be managed or a difficulty is to be overcome,—that it is almost impossible not to believe that such officers would adorn any service. But there is a darker side of the picture which the head of the office often fails to see. I do not speak of positive dishonesty, from which many of the higher ministerial officers may be free. I speak of the unhealthy training which they receive within the four walls of the office room. To try to win the good opinion of their superiors has been their one study for years. To shew off their work to the best advantage, to shew it in the best light, though often it is necessary to suppress a part of the truth in order to do so, has been their aim. To put forward their claim on every possible occasion, to provide for their friends and relations on each vacancy, to shut out others, to strengthen their party and weaken the opposite party,—this has been their endeavour for years. Lastly, familiarity with rules and circulars is not ability to apply them properly; the capacity to suggest a course is different from the ability to act on one's own responsibility. Now create one of these clever subordinate officers a Deputy Magistrate and place him in charge of a Sub-division. His smartness, his extreme cleverness, his thorough knowledge of rules, orders and circulars, help him but a little,—his real weakness begins to come out. He wants stamina, he wants character. He is unable to deal with important issues before him with vigour and with confidence in himself. He is always thinking how his superiors will interpret his action, he is always anxious to know how he can best win their approbation. Cliques, which he has learnt in office, does not entirely leave him,—he cannot view contending questions and contending parties fairly, impartially and openly in the face. He wants balance of mind. Very often he wants vigour in action,—sometimes he mistakes oppressiveness for vigour. The smooth-tongued, able and efficient clerk loses his head as a Deputy Magistrate and is betrayed to hasty, indiscreet, oppressive actions.

If I have written somewhat strongly in the preceding paragraph, my experience of numerous instances is the only excuse. Men, giving high promise as ministerial officers, have broken down absolutely, hopelessly as executive officers,—sometimes to the utter astonishment of those who selected them! I do not say that this has always been the case. On the contrary, I cannot forget that some of the ablest officers in the subordinate

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executive service were subordinate ministerial officers before. But we must not judge by exceptions. *The simple question then is this :—In selecting men for the responsible and honorable posts of Deputy Magistrates, are we to go by a method of selection, by which we may sometimes be right and sometimes hopelessly wrong? Is it safe to go on playing blind man's buff in such responsible work as selection of officers for the Subordinate Executive Service? Is there no better test, such as may always give us some guarantee for ability and education and intelligence? Mr. Rivers Thompson has answered the queries by the resolution alluded to above.

And now let us turn to the case of the somewhat priggish young man from colleges or examinations. Appearances, I admit, are against him! He is entirely new to the official world. The simplest official letter puzzles him,—he has never drafted one himself. He knows nothing of our Treasury and Account system, of vouchers and challans, of cash books and permanent advances,—he is not even aware of the existence of a powerful, watchful being called the Accountant-General! The Tonji department is an enigma to him, the road cess department, with its collection branch, its disbursement branch, and its huge revaluation branch is perfectly incomprehensible to him. He may understand something of the English office and the letters sent and received, but the huge Muushi Khana and the Nazarat he has never tried to comprehend, and they are utterly beyond his grasp. How can such an officer, who has perhaps never heard of khas mehals and settlement work, be ever of any use in District administration?

Nevertheless, the chances are, that this bewildered young man has the making of a good officer in him. Gainsay it as we may, high education means a severe intellectual culture, and a severe moral culture. The young man has learnt habits of patient study and application. His intellect has been trained to grasp large questions, and to comprehend difficult and fine problems. His mind is well informed, and his feelings are elevated by all that is best and ablest in European history and European literature. More than this,—he has received moral culture and given some guarantee of moral healthiness. Not only is the instruction imparted in the lowest class, as well as in the highest, full of the healthiest moral lessons, but the very success of the young man at examinations is some guarantee of his moral healthiness. It shews that he has learnt self-reliance and patient application. It shews that he has learnt to subordinate his desire for amusements and pleasures to higher aims, and can concentrate his mind and heart on one object. • It shews that he has ambition,

which is itself a healthy faculty. It shows that he regarded the approbation of his parents and relations and teachers as a higher reward than pleasures and amusements. Success at examinations is as much a guarantee of moral as of intellectual healthiness,—it presupposes a long period of moral training, in the strictest sense of the word, as also of intellectual training. That the present system of education is a godless one,—that it gives us a guarantee of intellectual soundness but not of moral rectitude,—all this is a cant of the day which I have always looked upon with the supremest contempt.

I am aware that the result does not always support my argument. I am aware that officers with university degrees have sometimes disgraced themselves in their official work. But again we must not judge by exceptions. I will maintain that officers who have received their education in our colleges will, as a class, acquit themselves better than the class selected for other reasons, or in any other way. I will maintain that competition, though not an infallible test, is the best and soundest test available for selecting good men for our administration. And the sooner we thoroughly accept this principle the better. The theory is universally accepted in England and in Europe, and the conditions of life and society are not so different in India, that a theory which is held to be sound in Europe can be other than sound in India.

If culture and education mean anything, if it is worth the money that we are spending on it, then it stands to reason that the educated young man who has done well at examinations is presumably a superior man, intellectually and in moral rectitude, to the average man without a long period of training of the intellectual and moral faculties. I can speak with authority of my countrymen, and I can say without hesitation, that there is more of honesty and rectitude displayed in the minutest details of work, there is more of decision and character, there is more of ability and self-reliance, among the officers of the former class than among the officers of the latter class. It is time, therefore, that an intellectual test should be declared as the only condition for admission, at least into the responsible posts of Deputy Collectors and Deputy Magistrates, and that the system of patronage,—although it may be agreeable to the feelings of him that gives and him that takes,—should be abandoned once and for ever in the interests of the public service and good administration.

It remains only to make one or two remarks regarding the principle on which the competitive examinations should be held. The principle recognized in the open competition for the Covenanted

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Civil Service of India is undoubtedly the correct one. That principle is to test candidates in the ordinary subjects of study in schools and colleges, and then to give the selected candidates a special training in the subjects which will be useful in the service into which they are about to enter. On this principle the subjects for examination would be English History and Literature, General History, Mathematics, Natural Science, Moral Science and Indian History and Sanscrit. The selected candidates might then be required to go through a special training with a view to making them fit for their future work. This special training would comprise Political Economy, Indian Law, including the more important regulations, *précis* writing and a practical acquaintance with the working of the treasury and the other departments under the Collector.

I have insisted on the first examination being held in the general subjects of study as prescribed in the university courses. The aim should be to get the best educated men,—perfectly irrespective of their technical or departmental knowledge. And when the best men are obtained, it will be easy to give them any special training that may be necessary. To hold the first examination in *précis* writing or in Board's rules, would be making the same mistake as selecting clever ministerial officers for their special and technical knowledge. That should be avoided altogether. The simple aim at the first examination should be to obtain the very best men available, men with a sound, liberal education, in the healthiest sense of the word. Special training should follow, and should never be required at the first examination.

The question is often asked why graduates of the Calcutta University should be subjected to a fresh examination. One simple answer is, that there are more graduates than there are men required for the Subordinate Executive Service. How can forty or fifty or a hundred graduates who pass each year be provided for, when there are only seven or eight vacancies annually? Another answer would be, that there may be good educated men outside the circle of graduates whom circumstances prevented from taking a degree, and who should not be deprived of their chance of competing for services. It will thus appear that a competitive examination, and not university degrees, ought to be the door to appointments.

Nevertheless, university degrees may, to some extent, be recognised. It may be ruled that only such candidates as have passed the B. A. or the First Arts Examination shall be allowed to compete. Or it may be ruled that only Bachelors of Art shall be allowed to compete, and that no other candidates shall be allowed to compete unless they can pass a preliminary test examination.

Some again think that only Bachelors of Art should be allowed to compete, as only Bachelors of Law are appointed Munsiffs, and that no exception should be made to this rule. I throw out these different suggestions, as suggestions, without having formed any opinion in the matter.

The above remarks have been made with reference to the Subordinate Executive Service, as the Government resolution alluded to above specially refers to appointments to that service. The object, however, of the present paper is not to furnish arguments in favour of a resolution which has already been passed, but to establish the soundness of a principle which ought to have a far wider application in India than it has hitherto had. Much has been said in favour of finding out and appointing men with special detective talents in the Police department, but I have serious doubts if men with special detective talents are found under the system we are now following, and whether we shall ever hit upon any better test for finding out such men than a healthy educational test, embracing the general subjects of study in the schools and colleges of India. In all the other departments under Government competition should be the one door for admission into service. It is becoming every day more necessary for the improvement of administration, that the system of competitive examinations for all appointments, as it obtains in England, should be introduced bodily in India.

The simple fact is that Government does not get the degree of efficiency and honesty that it pays for, by not coming to the open market and selecting the best commodity for the price that it pays. I have lately been through parts of this district where rice is purchased in large quantities for export to Calcutta. I have seen numerous Farias, or petty dealers, going beyond the great rice markets into petty villages and obscure corners of the district, as it were, in order to make a good bargain, and to make purchases at a rate perhaps an anna per maund cheaper than the prevailing rate in the markets. But the great Mahajans of Salebgunj, those who make immense purchases and export among them something like ten lacs of maunds of rice from this rice mart to Calcutta,—they do not resort to these devices. It does not pay them to follow the Faria's trick systematically and to run about from obscure village to obscure village to save a pice here, and half an anna there, per maund. Not that they are above such savings, but the policy does not pay them commercially,—the time and trouble wasted are not repaid by the gain, and as a matter of fact such immense purchases cannot be made by trying to make a good bargain here and a good bargain there as a Faria does. The Mahajan therefore comes to the open market, pays the fair market value, and purchases the best commodity that

can be had for the price ; and the astute Bengal rice merchant testifies in this way to the soundness of the commercial principle which underlies all the great trade transactions in Europe. Heads of offices are constantly advising Government that the Faria's principle is the best, that the selection of an astute clerk here and a clever Muharrar there is the best way of filling the numerous offices under Government. How far a weakness for exercising patronage enters into this advice, which is so constantly given, I cannot say, but my intimate acquaintance with, and painful experience of, numerous cases that I remember and could mention at the present moment, enables me to record my opinion with some confidence, that the Faria's principle is a loss to Government, commercially speaking—and that the principle of open competition, which has been adopted in every part of the civilized globe, is the one principle on which the Government of a great country like India can most successfully carry on the work of administration among its two hundred and fifty millions of subjects of various creeds and races.

I have only one more remark to make. The system of nomination is admitted to have failed in the case of the Statutory Civilians. Competition is the only system which will succeed,—an open healthy competition in the ordinary subjects of a liberal education as we understand it, not in technical subjects. The Government has declared its purpose of selecting one-sixth of the members of the Civil Service in this country and among the people of this country. Of all services in the world the Covenanted Civil Service of India can least afford to have inefficient men in its ranks ; and when Government has wisely and nobly declared its intention of filling up one-sixth of the appointments in that service in this country, it can be the interest of no one,—and least of all of the Government of India,—to make that one-sixth of the service inefficient. All the cant that has been uttered about selecting men of "light and leading" has ended (as was foreseen and said by all thoughtful men at the time) in utter failure, and it is time that we should begin work honestly and on ordinary sound commercial principles. Let the best men available be selected at a healthy open competition. And it is desirable in the case of these Statutory Civilians, who are expected to hold executive or judicial charge of districts, that the selected candidates should be required to spend the period of their probation in some English university, among Englishmen. The success of Lord Lytton's scheme is assured if this policy is adopted—and this policy should be adopted unless we wish and intend the scheme to be a failure.

BARISAL, }
December 1883. }

R. C. DUTT, C.S.

ART. II.—THE “*LA NUOVA ITALIA ED I VECCHI ZELANTI*,” OF THE EX-JESUIT CURCI.

AFTER a convent life of fifty years, and almost total seclusion from lay society, except only so far as religious ministrations to it were concerned, the Jesuit Father Curci could, in spite of his connection with the press, acquire but a one-sided view of public life and of the immense changes which have taken place in united Italy since the Pope has ceased to be a temporal sovereign; accordingly the title of his book, “The new Italy and the old Zealots,”* published at Florence in 1881, could only be a misnomer in the sense which non-clerical general readers (who would naturally expect in such a work to see the new contrasted with the old state of things, from a broader point of view than the ecclesiastical) might be inclined to attach to it. Father Curci, once “the starring preacher of the Gesù Church in Rome, and amongst the most eminent contributors to that *Civiltà Cattolica* on which Pius IXth had conferred the unprecedented distinction of being declared by an Apostolical Brief the specific organ of truth and holy doctrine,”† takes the church for his pole-star and expatiates with much unction upon the means by which it can recover its pristine brilliancy, hoping that, if his advice be accepted, the church will be fully exonerated from the unworthy accusation of having placed the nation in the formidable dilemma of making a choice between her and the fatherland, as well as from the still more odious imputation of wishing to injure the nation by recovering the temporal power (or *mundane element* according to the phraseology of St. Paul).

The author endeavours first to show that the Italians ought to wish New Italy to remain Catholic, on the generally admitted principle that it must have a religion, that a society without morality and without God is not desirable, that Christianity alone contains a simple and plain morality for solving the great problems of life, explaining, assuaging, and accounting for physical and moral evils with their concomitant pains, and that the idea that religion can be superseded by science is a childish illusion. He boldly asserts that after an experience of twenty years in Italy, and of ten in Rome itself, even the most timid believers must have persuaded themselves that the foreign importation of Protestantism constitutes no serious danger to the church, the friendly reception granted

* The above would be the English title of the work, which has just been translated into German, but not yet into English.

† The Jesuits. By W. O. Cartwright, M.P., London, 1876, p. 127.

to the converts by New Italy not being one of sympathy but only of respect paid to the new laws on the liberty* of worship. But is not the enmity of the state to the church the outcome of the views of the representatives of the people who made those laws? This hostility is admitted by Father Curci himself, and is expressed as follows by Bonghi :—"The legislation prevalent in Italy smacks of a spirit hostile to the church; and whilst the Roman Curia stands at one extremity of the opinions possible in the doctrine of the relations between the Church and the State, the Italian Government has approached and is approaching the opposite extremity."*

The view taken of parliamentary government is represented in its worst aspect, the democratic form being considered as a bourgeois oligarchy wherein all the eligible citizens participate in the sovereignty *in spe*, and the 500 elected members of the Parliament *in re*, or rather only 251 of them, who constitute the majority, whose chief aim is to promote first of all their own personal interests, those of their relatives, and friends, and, if it can be done without inconvenience to these, lastly also those of the public; and when these interests clash, there can be no doubt to which of them the preference is given. Here the exception is unfairly put forth as the rule.

The two facts just alluded to, namely, the invasion of Protestantism and democracy, may be rendered innocuous if the church were to adapt some of her observances to the present state of society, and also to become democratic. As to the first of these requirements "she ought to have that marvellous flexibility with which her founder had endowed her," so that she may adapt herself to all the legitimate and innocent changes which society may undergo. "In short, precisely as the church may be ready to accommodate herself easily in whatever is *accidental and variable* in her to the various exigencies of society, she finds herself, on the other hand, in a position to introduce therein no small portion of what is *substantial and invariable*, which is to her everything, or at least the end of everything; whereas rigid tenacity to the former makes her less fit, and might render her totally unfit, for initiating the latter among men. And such appears to me to be the present condition of New Italy, where the labours of the zealots have endeavoured, and not in vain, to cause to pass as essentials of the church and inseparable therefrom certain of her outward appearances, established or added in another age by public authority, but which have been or will be abolished by it, or at least modified." As to the second point, namely, the democracy of the church, Father Curci takes the following hopeful view :—"I am pleased to think, that when in course of time the

* Pio XI ed il Papa futuro. Milano, 1877, p. 147.

present rancour is extinguished, suspicions become appeased, and the nations are settled in the new ways they are treading, Providence will make the mission of the Roman pontiffs flourish again among them. They will now, when the nations believe themselves to be adult, and are already so in some respects, be able to guide them in the paths of truth and justice, as they educated them of yore from their unconscious infancy when first emerging from barbarism, and brought them up during the intermediate age, namely, youth, which is always thoughtless, and very often tempestuous. But this hope will, during the new epoch in which we live, always remain sterile by the fault of the Roman pontificate and of the church herself, until the origin of her intimate nature, which is *Democracy*, is acknowledged, and until the two qualities which distinguish her, namely, *national* and *laical*, with which every one must progress who desires to progress at the present day, are understood."

The clerical party which profited most largely by the old state of affairs, and still eagerly hopes against all hope for its return, has properly been called by Father Curci the party of old zealots. The system is worth knowing whether we believe in it or not; it assumes as an indisputable axiom, that the lease of life of New Italy will not be long; and that it will soon come to an end, in any case by external or by internal action. There are evident signs of the jealousy of foreign powers towards Italy, fomented by the disgust of their Catholic subjects, and signs of dissolution in the discrepancy of political parties, promoted by the ferment of the subversive sects of *Communism*, *Socialism*, *Internationalism*, not without a sprinkling of *Nihilism*; there are signs in the triumphant immorality, scarcely restrained by partial or venal punitive justice, as may be gathered from the fearful increase of crime; and, lastly, in an exhausted, dilapidated, and enormously debt-laden treasury, which can hardly be replenished by insupportable taxes that crush those from whom they are collected, undermining private without aiding public wealth. Under these conditions the edifice must tumble down, no matter what may happen.

The chief labour accomplished by the zealots was the engrafting upon the church of a kind of repulsive force, or at least the appearance of one, by which the flower of the Catholic laity is alienated from her, merely because it disagrees with the arbitrary exigencies of the zealots. Discredit has been brought among believers upon eminent men, some of whom had also deserved well of the church, simply by applying to them the nick-name of *Liberal Catholics*; thus Montalembert, De Falloux, Manzoni, Balbo, Troya with other illustrious men have been branded, and are reputed to be worse

than deists, atheists or even Lucifer himself. All this has been said and even printed, to enlarge the meaning of the two words just mentioned.

The author became acquainted with Cardinal Mastai in 1842, continuing to enjoy the honour of his friendship after he had become Pope, even from his fall in 1849 till the beginning of 1872, and the manner in which the temporal power gradually escaped from

Causes of the Pope's loss the hands of Pius IXth is described as follows:—"The glory of God, & of the

Virgin and of the Saints was always on his lips, and certainly also in his heart, in which, however, his own also occupied no small space, not seldom larger than the other. This disposition, coupled to no high mind, made him impatient towards the best men and inclined to individuals of middling capacity or of no capacity at all, whom he sometimes exalted in fits of caprice not rare with him, in which he, so to say, imitated omnipotence by creating from nothing; and afterwards played with the large children in purple with whom he had been pleased to surround himself. This instinctive repugnance towards excellent men and preference for low or sometimes even the lowest men became the secret source of that accumulation of vast and permanent disorders, which he allowed to arise and gradually to assume gigantic proportions in the temporal power that was perceptibly slipping out from his hands."—"I remember," continues Father Curci, "that once (I believe it was in 1856), speaking very openly to me, he passed his ministers in review, giving quite other than advantageous opinions about them, and began with Antonelli whom he esteemed little and loved less. Then I allowed myself to observe respectfully 'But how is this! Your Holiness knows them so well, and nevertheless leaves the chief public affairs in their hands!' And he replied, 'It is true, they are unfit; the barque however sails!' Then I recollected Paganini, who executed stupendous variations gloriously upon a violin with only one string; but States are not managed by a display of bravery like violins. Where the barque (certainly not that of St. Peter) has gone to, all can see."

Clerical journals can do no good to the Pope, their editors being generally men of little or no capacity, always writing on the spur of the moment, and fond of controversy. "But," says the author, "their capital mistake consists in the means they use, and in the indecorous, quite different from Christian, form in which those means are employed to support what is not beautiful and becomes worse by such advocacy. They nevertheless long for justice and truth, not however all of them, nor in everything; there are modest Catholic journals, which, although not

much known, do much good without getting into a passion about the expectation of the return of the temporal power, but agree to it as a duty to the State, and these sometimes contain praiseworthy contributions; also sacrifices of labour and money are made to them. I speak of the champions and combatants, those who excel all the others; nor is everything bad in the others; they may even contain something good and much good, without, however, ceasing for all that to be *simpliciter* bad, according to the principle *malum ex quocunque defectu*; a person is always called sick, although well in everything else, and not ill except in an arm or leg. Speaking, therefore, of these, who are in this instance organs of the zealots, whose ways, as I have already said, are factious, without constituting a properly so-called faction, their ways are such that they have in course of time extinguished in the soul all reverence for truth, and, so to speak, all sense of justice, so that these editors drag into their writings all kinds of falsifications, tricks, sophistry, calumnies, invectives, and, above all, the low language of the streets, in which unworthy arts they are not much better than the worst class of secular journals. But the most grievous thing in this matter, for every one who loves the Supreme Shepherd of the Church with filial affection, is to see in those dirty compositions pretended communications from the Vatican, supposed confidential reports from excellent prelates and cardinals, and more frequently than anything else the name and authority of the Pope himself; nor are these matters introduced for the sake of parade only, but to enforce the ideas of the editors, and, lastly, to keep under their own superiors, who consider it to be best to tolerate these things and to remain silent. It is known that severe and repeated admonitions have been launched against such scandalous inventions; but though certainly issued very seriously at first, they passed through intermediate conniving channels, in which, before they became known to the admonished parties, they lost so much of their first vigour, that on reaching their destination, cold and worn out, they produced no effect, or the contrary of what had been expected." This unscrupulousness and scurrility naturally brought disgrace upon their authors and upon the cause they advocate. This kind of journalism proved however injurious, not only to those who desire the restoration of the Pope's temporal power, but likewise to the lower clergy, as is pointed out in the following passage:—"Let us now consider what must have become of, and what will further become of so many clergymen, chiefly in country places, whose only favoured and venerated reading besides the *Breviary* consists in the perusal, day by day, of one of those Catholic journals which pretend to be the sole

champions of the church and of the Pope, but are, on the contrary, only a disgrace and a calamity. Their smallest defect is that they abandon all serious studies and become inflated with that levity which usually accompanies ignorance. But their worst misfortune is that they fashion their mode of thought after the model (and what a model!) of their journalist, considered by them to be of much more authority in practice, whatever the case may be in theory, than the Pope and the bishops, who speak but rarely and seriously, whilst the utterances of His Holiness are all in Latin. Their prejudices become the same in their tendencies; their sophistry in speech is the same; and their perversion of facts the same; betokening a moral abasement of their habits and characters frightful to contemplate, and adhered to with such tenacity and stubbornness that they cannot be set right. In some provinces of Tuscany as well as of Lombardy I met young priests so misguided, that I was amazed and saddened. Poor young men! I found them so infatuated with their ideas, or rather the ideas of their journals, that they were no longer amenable to reasoning persuasion, and not even to rational conversation. This is certainly the worst, but not the only one, of the heinous fruits gathered from the most noisy portion of Catholic journalism, and if there be any remedy for them it is necessary to become acquainted with them; this explains my imprudence in bringing them to light, or rather in saying publicly what is already known and deplored privately by every intelligent man acquainted with the state of affairs. Let it be now considered whether it was wise to encourage and to lavish unmeasured praise on journalism such as this, which, although certainly devoted to the defence of truth, uses it, however, only as small coin in dribblets or as a pretence for the daily and better sale of its own fancies, in order to make in certain cases the injury inflicted more atrocious, and the calumny less reparable."

Making a virtue of necessity, the author shows that an excess of temporal goods is dangerous to the clergy, because the less worldly goods the sacred ministers possess, the more will they look to heavenly possessions; nevertheless the faithful are always acting well by offering through the church their substance to Christ with their worship and even their rights; the church does well to accept them all, and her doctors teach that she can never renounce the things which properly belong to Christ; unfortunately, however, ecclesiastic riches have often been used to bring his immaculate spouse into discredit, as history abundantly testifies, not only in former ages, but also at the present time.

It is rather a surprising idiosyncrasy of the author to adduce the Reformation as the fit remedy of Providence for purifying

the Roman Catholic Church in Germany by the extinction of the ecclesiastic Electors, whose great wealth had led to general corruption, although an event of the present age, necessarily far more striking to the author than the rise of Lutheranism, namely, the loss of the Pope's temporal power, might be considered as an equally appropriate remedy to check for ever the enormities which the Eternal City has witnessed in all ages on the part of the highest ecclesiastics. The manner in which Father Curci's remedy was brought about is thus gradually unfolded by him :—"I do not remember well whether it is at Treves or at Cologne that a picture yet exists in the electoral castle in which the prince bishop is represented with mitre and pluvial, surrounded by his canons in ecclesiastic garb, witnessing the licentious dance of some harlots scantily dressed. The thing in itself is horrible, but tells a tale of the deep abyss into which the moral sense of a baptized nation must have fallen, the pastor of whose church could be present at such a scene *ad perpetuum rei memoriam*. Meanwhile the minor clergy was very poor, and therefore enjoyed immunity from the corruption entailed by riches ; but it may well be imagined what must have become of the lower priests with such examples before their eyes, and the absolute abandonment of all discipline. Peter Canisius, the true apostle of Germany at that time, wrote to Rome, that, in the town of considerable size where he resided, *all* the ecclesiastics openly lived in concubinage, except the Vicar-General, in whose house alone a man might be a guest without inconvenience. Accordingly it was vain to look for a remedy in the locality itself, and Rome, where this state of affairs had become known, was totally unable to apply one ; chiefly on account of the opposition it would have encountered on the part of the lay princes themselves, who were waiting for the last defeat of the church in order to plunder it. Nevertheless a remedy arrived, and a most efficacious one ; it came from God as He alone could send it, by allowing even the perverse will of men to work freely, and they, without knowing or wishing, carried out this design. The remedy was the Reformation with all the calamities and enormities that accompanied it. The Reformation dispersed the exorbitant wealth, and two centuries afterwards its last effects, which abolished the Holy Roman Empire, abolished also the ecclesiastical sovereign electors, who would at present be an intolerable anomaly. Meanwhile the Christian faith remained safe in the whole of Germany, and the Catholic in the largest portion of it. There virtue and science flourish at present among the clergy, perhaps more than in the past ; even among the heterodox their ministers are generally praised for instruction

which, although less arduous than our own, does not fail to be salutary by its example among the corruptious of the world."

Another idiosyncrasy of Father Curci is that he sees and deplores in the letter which Pius IXth sent to King William of Prussia to congratulate him on his victory over the French, only the abasement of the Pope, who hoped to obtain some aid from the German sovereign to recover his temporal power, and does not perceive the black ingratitude and stupidity of the Holy Father in rejoicing at the fall of Napoleon III, whose bayonets had not only reinstated him in Rome after his ignominious flight to Gaeta, but protected and kept him upon the papal throne for nearly twenty years, till the Franco-German war broke out and the French troops were under the necessity of abandoning the pontiff to the mercy of his own loving subjects again. On this letter Father Curci expresses himself as follows:—"My forehead as a Catholic and a clergyman peculiarly devoted to the Roman See was burning with shame when I read, in the beginning of 1871, in a German journal, the letter sent from the Vatican to William of Prussia, when he, victorious at Versailles, dictated the law to the first-born daughter of the Church who had been humbled, disappointed, defeated and plundered of two of her noblest provinces. There were congratulations for the victories, and, if I remember well, even for the imperial crown, a creation of the popes for the support of the Catholic church, but now a crown usurped to encircle the head of the official representative of the Lutheran heresy; there were hopes expressed for aid in recovering the temporal power; and to whom would such congratulations not have been offered with such hopes? But here moral baseness was excelled by political unwisdom! Not believing my own eyes, I supposed that letter to be spurious, and immediately sent it to Antonelli that he might in that case disavow it; but he returned it to me with the recommendation not to show it to any one; verily, an efficacious mode for keeping a document secret which had already appeared in the public prints in Germany! Enemies thought not much of the letter and considered it a most natural thing; but friends would not have expected it."

Considering the emancipation from priestcraft and the democracy of the present age, the maintenance of the temporal power by the Pope would involve on his part many concessions and sacrifices to the secular sovereigns, who had already in 1773 to such a degree diminished the authority of the Pope that they compelled Clement XIV to abolish the order of Jesuits, upon which memorable event much stress is laid in the following passage:—"According to the nature of modern democracy which now

definitively prevails everywhere, it is certain that a guarantee of independence of a sovereign power according to the ancient fashion could be but badly maintained, and, if maintained, its existence would be always precarious. Human possessions, indeed, impart a certain independence to those who enjoy them, on condition, however, that their right of possessing them is universally acknowledged and respected as a simple and pure matter of justice: without this, those possessions have scarcely any other effect than to set those who are powerful to long for them, to excite their cupidity, and to become an insidious temptation for depriving their weak possessors of them. This always happens without fail, whenever the possessors themselves do not make those worldly goods serve, but are *serving them* and are ready to keep them at all hazards. Thus it happened that in these latter times, when religion has decayed and the feeling of respect for universal justice diminished, even the Catholic monarchs themselves took their own interests for standards of conduct, and the pontiffs were, in order to retain their temporal power, compelled to barter for it much of their spiritual authority, to the detriment of their own decorum and even of justice, learning at their own cost, that their sovereignty, given by God, as it is said, for a guarantee of liberty, has through the wickedness of men, in numerous cases, become an instrument of slavery. The greatest injustice committed by the Roman See during the past century, and the most unworthy baseness during the present one, are due to no other cause. In order to extort from the weakness of Ganganelli the abolition of the famous institution, whose true guilt was the too great power it had attained, *magnitudine laborabat sua*, France had already invaded Avignon and the Venosino, Spain was with the arms of Naples about to occupy Benevento and Pontecorvo, threatening to invade the rest; and then to save the temporal power, the mortal blow was hurled at the great envied society, to accomplish also the divine judgment of correcting and tempering it; a pious purpose which it does not seem to have as yet attained, at least in a general way."

That the recovery of the temporal power was humanly impossible has been acknowledged at Rome by every body since the first months of 1871 and several times said by Pius IX. himself to Father Curci, nor has it become more probable during the dozen years which have since elapsed; but a state of expectancy was necessary for the Pope and for others; and, as no human authorities in favour of the restoration could be invoked, divine ones were appealed to, and of these Father Curci has a very mean opinion as will appear from what follows:—

"The game of prophecies being worn out from having been used too much, and not being longer tenable, a great deal of noise was made I do not know about what dogmatic truths concerning this point, about authentic declarations, pontifical and episcopal teachings, not without a smack of posthumous infallibility in order to produce a greater effect; neither is it credible with what levity all these concoctions were swallowed with closed eyes, not only by pious young damsels and ignorant believers, but also by a great portion of the clergy, by learned monks and serious laymen; lastly, also, by prelates of the church who looked at me with frowning brows, amazed at my want of faith, because I did not seem to be much persuaded of the existence of this *Catholic doctrine*."

The old zealots were the inventors and propagators of "political abstention," who, deeming themselves to be the flower of the nation, desired thus tacitly to protest against the new order of things and to abandon the destinies of Italy to the rest whom they considered to be nothing more than a revolutionary faction which would necessarily succumb soon; but they were disappointed. Nevertheless the church remained silent. Leo XIII is indeed said to have attempted, in the commencement of his pontificate, to initiate a reconciliation between new and old Italy, between the State and the Church, in an encyclical, but the happy inspiration was not realised, and the document never saw the light of day. To assert that it would be a mortal sin for citizens to participate in the political life of their own country would have been considered an absurdity by all sober men; on the other hand, to declare that no harm, but every possible advantage, would accrue from such political activity, would not only have elicited the displeasure, but roused the fury of the zealots, the masters of the Catholic press. On this point, Father Curci very properly remarks:—"Supposing the making of Italy to have been an evil, what have the zealots with their clients ever done to impede it which may be compared with what others have done and suffered to constitute it? The former have sacrificed patrimonies, suffered exile, have been imprisoned in jails or galleys, and have even been hanged! A comparison with the clients of the zealots could be made only ironically. And now this cause is to be defeated in spite of a nation ready to defend it with the ardour of a furious patriotism, by means of a marvellous stratagem, namely, *abstention*! by which alone Italy is to fall, even without any trumpets around the walls of Jericho!"

We encounter more than once the curious assertion that Italy may become half atheistic and more than half pagan, but

that when it ceases to be Catholic it will never be Protestant.

Conversions to Protestantism attributed to the imprudent attitude of the zealots.

It is, however, admitted that during the last twenty years, and more particularly during the last decade, some Italians have become Protestants neither in anger nor in joke, but very seriously, with every probability of an increase in their number and none of diminution. "This calamity," says Father Curci, "has befallen our dear country, not from any fault or, at least, not from any direct fault of the revolution, but by the cruel unwisdom of the zealots who desired to place our thinking and working laity in the tremendous dilemma of making their choice between Italy and the church. Thus it happened that the laity, most of whom became not a little disgusted with the unfair dealings of many ecclesiastics within and without the sanctuary, feeling themselves reduced to the above-mentioned alternative, have given their adhesion to Italy and practically bidden farewell to the church. Thus the present generation of *indifferentists* has sprung into being, to whom religion is a thing totally extraneous to life, and a fact of no reality. There are, however, some more delicately tempered and nobler minds, who now and then deeply feel the austere disenchantments of life and the teachings of misfortune. To such persons religion is a light indispensable to the intellect, and a want imperious to the heart; and having once known Christ, they at present cannot and will not live without Christ. They certainly did wrong by severing themselves from the Church, which offered to them doctrine as well as morality in their legitimate form; having, however, nevertheless miserably abjured their ancestral religion, but desiring to retain some taste of it, they attached themselves to some heterodox confession, generally selecting one which seemed to them to differ the least from the Catholic church. Now, if the defenders of the liberty of conscience and of worship were to patronise the cause of these men, saying that they are Italian citizens like the others, who enjoy the same rights, fulfil the same duties, and pay the same taxes, there is no reason why a liberty granted to all should be denied to them, considering that their number is extremely small, and, so to say, nothing with reference to the bulk of the nation. The reply to this may be that their number makes no difference, and is, at all events, at present on the increase in every way. Let others judge of the value of this reply: as for myself, I supplicate divine goodness to avert the sinister presage from us."

After expatiating on the decay of good preaching, the author continues:—"Considering the low state into which preaching has fallen for some lustres, it is nevertheless in the general estimation

of the public not at a disadvantage when compared with similar efforts made by the laity, although the scientific and literary lectures delivered on Sundays by professors and dilettanti of note in our great cities might be compared to many sermons and even excel them. The comparison becomes, however, disadvantageous, and palpably so in printed publications in which the position held by the clergy of Italy is lowered, and the more so the more fertile the frequently maleficent productions of the laity are. I am aware that, during the last few years, but few, although most valuable works of eminent ecclesiastics, such as Luigi Josti, Alfonso Capececiatro, Guglielmo Audisio and Vito Fornario, have appeared; but on these the Catholic apostolic and Roman church may plume herself, and not the churchlet of the zealots who have banished them from it on the usual pretences, and have poured vulgar platitudes upon writings the sublimity of which they were not even able to understand. At all events, taking into account these rare exceptions, and not being able to attribute any value to the rubbish either fabricated or magnified by that company, the scientific decadence of the clergy among us strikes every one who considers it; it is humiliating and painful in a society which is so much attacked in print by outsiders."

Great things were expected from the Vatican Council held after a lapse of three hundred years since that of Trent, but not the faintest hint was given even in its programme

The dogma of infallibility promulgated at the instigation of the zealots.

that the authority of the pontiff was in any way to be augmented and still less that his infallibility, of which no doubt existed as a matter of belief from very ancient times, would now be raised to the dignity of a dogma. It became, however, manifest that the council was wanted by the zealots; convoked and held, not to provide for the great and urgent necessities of the church, but to add this to the many glories of Pius IXth; and after accomplishing the feat, the zealots quarrelled among themselves, as to who among themselves or their order had contributed most to accomplish it, imploring the officials and intimate courtiers of the Pope to impress the record of their services well upon his mind. "I was with ill-concealed shuddering present at these miserable contentions," says Father Curci, "and my heart bled when I considered the injury, not unaccompanied by contempt, which might befall the Holy Church and the Pontificate itself, my only loves upon earth. And in fact the atmosphere of courtiers which always enveloped the Council made it doubtful whether, and how far, liberty would be granted to the Fathers, either in the disputes permitted during the deliberations, or in giving their votes. No doubt, whether there is scanty

liberty of discussion or none at all, it concerns external human means which must be applied to arrive at a definitive sentence, which would not in the least invalidate that sanctioned by the divine afflatus. It was, however, a pity that, in using these human means, no care was taken to save at least the semblance of an independence, studiously provided for even in modern parliamentary governments." Accordingly it was at first only whispered, but afterwards openly proclaimed, that any dissent would be considered as a personal offence against the Pope; and it would be useless to dwell in this place on the various stratagems by which all opposition was overcome and the dogma proclaimed.

The zealots generally endeavour to make a scape-goat of the revolution, which they hold guilty of all the external disasters that have befallen the church; hoping for the destruction of the new, they believe that the old state of affairs will be restored and their own

The new state of affairs, or revolution, not so bad as imagined by the zealots.

privileges likewise. Father Curci is of a different opinion:—"Pious, learned, distinguished ecclesiastics and monks, especially in Tuscany, have confirmed an idea which I entertained for some time; but without their suffrage I would perhaps not have dared to propound it nude and crude as I now do:—The revolution was on the part of God a visitation of great mercy for the Church in Italy; its authors have given or will give an account to him of their crimes, since they willed it and accomplished it, and they will fare badly if they do not repent! But Christ allowed them to work it out to the end, in order that his principal members may derive the great and eminent advantages of purging themselves of the rust contracted from the love and use of worldly goods, of refining their minds and distinguishing themselves in science in order to be prepared for a strong and abundant activity on behalf of this poor new society, which, inebriated by its great material and natural acquisitions, yields to corruptions and sometimes gropes in darkness for the want of the celestial, which vivifies the terrestrial, element. Nor can I guess what efficient obstacle the revolution could oppose to that spiritual and scientific revival of the clergy and of the monastic orders, unless by the withdrawal of some property or something else, a need which the Christian people who esteem and love the clergy might easily supplement. This has been done in Tuscany for the most respected portion of the Franciscan order, which shows that it can be done everywhere, if those favourable dispositions exist everywhere and among all. Such was the design of God, which was, however, more or less foiled by the stupid imaginations of men who were not willing to understand it, and, impeded by their miserable selfish-

ness were not willing to allow others to understand it; nor would this be the first time that the salutary views of God have been frustrated by the folly and wickedness of mankind. I maintain that as ordained by God, the revolution was a benefit for the clergy in Italy; had it not taken place, what would have become of the fallen governments, the little almanacks and their patrons? But as to the church and its internal condition, I hold it as undoubted that it would be in a worse condition than the present if we had been yet for a longer time abandoned to our regulated, self-satisfied, and not a little inert frankincense torpor, in which we were surprised by the storm."

Theological studies in general are at present desultory and weak among the clergy, whilst biblical researches have become totally extinct. Even in the most out-of-the-way branches

Decay of biblical studies. of literature, science and art that can be imagined, more works are published during the present century than on the Bible. This extreme remissness in writing and penury of works is the more shameful in proportion to the incredible fertility of the publications of Protestant divines, the titles of which alone would fill a volume. "And," adds Father Curci, "would it be believed? This very alacrity of the Protestants in biblical studies, which ought to be to us a stimulus for beautiful emulation, has been taken as a pretext for calumniating them to such a degree, that in some large dioceses the opinion has spread among the young clergy that it would be a blasphemy to peruse such works, it being a distinguishing feature of the Protestants to study the Bible. Good God! What have we come to? Then we ought to leave off believing in Christ and adoring Him, because the Protestants profess to believe in Him and to adore Him. And the inference is very cogent, because St. Augustine has in such a variety of forms inculcated that the oral word which instructs us in the Scriptures is not substantially different from the personal word, which, assuming human personality, has redeemed us. Then God would in vain have communicated to us the inestimable treasure of the word, authentically sealed by his own; and the church would in vain have transferred nearly the whole of it into the liturgy, to be read daily by her ministers! In vain would she have caused a great portion of it to be given to the people, but for grave reasons not in the vernacular language, and to be explained by the priests! How can a man usefully read the Scripture on his own account or explain it to the people without understanding it? How can he understand it without studying it? But our clergymen, educated in the school of Catholic journals, believe that they get from them information enough for themselves and

for others. Such examples were not left to us by our great ancestors who walked in the footsteps of the Holy Fathers, who worthily replied dogmatically to the first heterodox extravagances concerning the Scripture—according to which it was to be taken for the only rule of faith, and to be interpreted in a private sense altogether independent of the church—by studying it better than their opponents, and producing, from the end of the sixteenth till the beginning of the eighteenth century, from Etzelius to Calmet, that abundance of ample and profound biblical works, which now constitute our wealth and our glory. But to-day, it seems to the zealous protectors of the church that their greatest, and perhaps only, duty is quite other than biblical study, with regard to the stupendous conquests heterodoxy is accomplishing not without an admixture of error which we ought to know and to refute; to-day, I say, the best reply to be given, is believed to be to entrench themselves within the bulwarks of an unwise and haughty scorn to shield their ignorance. Poor human nature always makes them harp on the same string, *chorda oberrat eadem*; such as political abstentions and pretended obedience to the Pope, so that the neglect of the studies which ought to be the life of the clergy is gilded over by a delicate deference to the authority of the church."

In consequence of the reasons just stated, and the false way in which the church was served at Rome, Father Curci arrived at the conclusion, that the moral and religious necessities of the people could be remedied only by a knowledge of the examples and doctrines of Jesus Christ; accordingly he published at Florence an edition of thirty thousand copies of the four gospels with notes, which he partly sold at a very low price, and partly distributed gratuitously. The success of this work encouraged him to extend it, and during three years he preached in the Church of S. Giacomo a complete exposition of the four gospels compared with each other, which he contemporaneously published in five volumes. "But," says Father Curci, "the singular blessings by which God had rewarded my poor labours contributed not a little to prepare, or certainly to render more fierce, the tempest which overwhelmed me in 1877. All sacred ministrations having been interdicted to me in consequence, I returned to my favourite ideas of promoting henceforth among the clergy and the laity an ample knowledge of Jesus Christ and of His doctrines; intending, as I always have intended, to spend my life and all my force, if God spared them, in His service, and for the spiritual good of my neighbours. Thus I printed in 1878 a new translation of the New Testament, which is the most living, most fertile portion of the Scripture and

concerns us most closely; adding to it exegetic and moral notes so as to form a complete commentary. My intention was to present to the Christians of Italy, clergy or studious laity, a work more corresponding in its scientific, strictly interpretative, and literary portion to the wants of our age than that of Martini which had existed one century; and there being but little to glean from Catholic writings, on account of the penury deplored above by me, I intended to use it, and in addition to it, with due circumspection, the best I could find in the writings* of our separated brothers [the Protestants]. Above all, however, I meant the notes in their practical portion to be more consonant to the intellectual and moral condition of Italy, which is now so different from the time of Martini. I do not presume to say I have attained my aim, but, according to the judgment of some men well versed in these studies in our country, expressed in a few serious but little read periodicals, I cannot have lagged far behind it. On the other hand, the extraordinary aid which the Lord has granted me—and at which I myself, who am not a novice to similar fatigues, was astonished—enabled me to complete my work alone, without any human aid, and not without external difficulties, with all the deliberation I was capable of, in less than thirty months (the last part was published on the 30th September 1880); that aid, I say, made me hope, that such a work might, according to its measure, have revived the thought of biblical studies among the clergy, and promoted among the cultured laity the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ. But experience has convinced me that this was an illusion of mine like all hopes of this kind (and I believe I have had no others) during my long life. The book, if it was not strangled in the cradle, died after it had scarcely been born, passing almost unnoticed in Italy, Florence alone excepted, which had perhaps been prepared by the above-named exposition of the four gospels which I had there delivered during three years. Lastly, if I had published a commentary on the Qurán, I would certainly have found more persons curious about it than about the New Testament."

No regeneration being possible in the church, the working classes in the towns have become estranged from its ministrations; and the students of the universities not only despise but hate the clergy, and they will in a few years more enter the ruling classes. As this state of affairs cannot be helped, Father Curci is forsooth compelled to take the separation as an accomplished fact, and to make the best of a *free church in a free State*.

Separation of church and State. "It has been said and repeated a hundred times," exclaims Father Curci, "that this doctrine is an absurdity, and this principle a lie; and I, with more

than one restriction, subscribe without any difficulty to both these assertions ; but this is not the question here. The only thing necessary to see here is, whether, since God has allowed this absurdity and this lie to prevail in the world, the church cannot follow out therein and exercise its mission ordained for the eternal salvation of men ; this church which has initiated and made the most stupendous conquests in the pagan world, ruled by absurdities and lies of quite a different tendency. If the zealots have a mode of sweeping from the world these two monstrosities, as they call them, and set their own system up again, they will deserve well of society and of the church. But if they perceive (and who does not ?) that this is at the present day humanly impossible, let them forthwith cease to confuse the mind with sophisms, ensnaring the conscience with arbitrary injunctions and inhibitions, and allow the church to do in holy peace what she has always done, and has taught us to do in great moral and physical disorders ; considering them as visitations of Providence, and endeavouring to remedy as far as possible their bad effects in order to reap the good ones which Providence itself has certainly aimed at in permitting them and wishing them to take place. And let us be certain that this can, and will, be done by the church even with the absurdity of the separation, and the lie of a *free church in a free State* ; from the former she may suffer many discomforts, not however without gaining some advantages, and into the latter she will know how to introduce much of the truth, and perhaps change it into truth. This will, however, require an abandonment of the hope of seeing the old state of affairs restored, which has now become totally impossible, chiefly by the fault of those whom the zealots have protected and are protecting."

After all, however, the author is of opinion that the church has nothing to fear from the separation, and that if her action becomes somewhat restricted in amplitude or diminished in efficacy, it would hurt only other interests, and she would rather be benefitted in more noble respects concerning her internal constitution. Instead of indulging in repriminations, he would propose to reason as follows :—"On the one hand, modern society appears to have arrived at such a stage of perfection with respect to the speculative knowledge of even evangelical principles, that little or nothing new could be communicated to it on this point ; and with these principles it is so well acquainted that it frequently and injuriously profanes them. Its supreme need would be to penetrate into the innermost reasons of those principles and their inestimable fecundity in practical life, in order to direct and to comfort it in work, so that the advantages, gained by the acquisition as well as by the use of worldly goods,

may not serve as an obstacle but as an aid to its members for attaining also those of heaven. Such would be the final practical purpose for which the church might work through her ministers in a society as far as it is Christian. On the other hand, however, those who ought to feel these salutary influences are no longer amenable to them on account of the irreligious prejudices which beset them, or because the wild suspicions they have conceived against the ministers of the church prevent them from placing any trust in them; neither can it be denied that the juridical union, which had been made to serve human ends, has prevented them from inspiring confidence. And now God admonishes and chastises the world by the *system of separation*, withdrawing a powerful means of its civil perfection, and at the same time mercifully visiting the church by depriving her ministers of a certain kind of goods which they were no longer in a position to use for the advantage of others, or did use at great risk, perhaps to their own detriment, as appears from the impatience with which they bore their loss, and from the eager anxiety with which they contend for their restoration. If such be the design of Providence (nor could I think of any other, unless it be the absurd reproduction of the old state of affairs) then, alas! how are we to qualify that unwise habit by which we impose upon Him the duty of setting up again, or of conserving, that which His Providence has allowed to be destroyed and destroys? Having lost the substance, we cannot abandon appearances; the reality having vanished, we desire to maintain a state of expectancy, grasping obstinately at a state of affairs which is slipping from our hands, as if we were polyps hugging a rock, or the shipwrecked crew of Homer, *labenti inhaeremus, fugientem sequimur*."

Society is becoming more and more democratic every where, and the church, in the opinion of the author, could democratically marvellously adapt itself to this form of government. "Being," says he, "ordained by her universality to have no other boundaries except those of space and time, no form of government can be repugnant to her, and she can still very well fulfil her mission of saving individual men, and of perfecting their civil societies. Moreover, this church is in peculiar harmony with the democratic form, because her founder has in his doctrines always displayed formidable austerity towards the rich and powerful of every kind and degree; in practical life he wished to be a man of the people and poor, consorting always with the people and keeping aloof from the great of the earth; he made his appearance at the court of a king only to be derided, and in a Roman tribunal of justice only to be condemned. Let us add, that it is the natural and noble duty of the church to defend the weak

against the oppressions of the strong, and that her activity would be greater in a modern democratic than in an old monarchic government, because in the former she might accomplish with perfect liberty of action what her ministers could never effect in the latter with all their juridical union."

"In fact it would be a great illusion to imagine, that because these forms are democratic they therefore insure to a greater extent the rights and interests of the poor, laborious and suffering multitudes. That will never take place until the Christian idea prevails, which considers the government not as a dominion for the profit of the governors, but as a ministry, a service for the benefit of the governed, and exercised with the more care, the more weak by nature, or the more unfavoured by fortune these are. And that of this idea not a particle exists any longer in our society may be perceived from the change of the form of government which has benefitted only the bourgeoisie which does everything chiefly to promote its own interests with a little show of royalty supported by 500 Honourables, and feeds the hopes of the rest of the population, sometimes even promoting its interests when they do not clash with its own, reaping *si Diis placet* even the praise of philanthropy for thus acting; in cases of collision, however, it entertains not the least doubt that its own *I* is that which must always have the preference. Meanwhile the population feeling itself burdened as formerly, and in some respects more than formerly, does not much appreciate the advantage and the honour of belonging to a united and independent nation, but grumbles, quarrels, and believes that it has almost been betrayed; moreover, as the people have for some time learnt to know certain of their rights, which they believe to have been violated, the more ardent and less circumspect among them have for the purpose of regaining these rights entered into some compact or other, and call themselves *Socialists, Internationalists, Nihilists* and I do know what else." Father Curci, however, coquetted with these discontented parties in his pamphlet—"The International, or new form of the discord between the rich and the poor" * in which he showed how enormous the injustice is that subjugates labour only for the profit of capitalists, as well as how modern society gradually becomes more and more estranged from Christianity, to which it would be the duty of the church to reconcile it. "The church," he says, "has, from her too intimate connection with absolute monarchies, contracted in her ministers in general a certain haughtiness of manners, somewhat despotic proceedings and other

* *L'Internazionale, ossia Nuova forma del vecchio dissidio tra i ricchi ed i poveri.* 2nd Edition, 1872.

unhandsome habits, inheriting all the hatred entertained toward monarchies, and now bearing it herself alone after they have been broken up. Wherefore the people, who had been accustomed to identify the church with the government, are very suspicious and cannot be persuaded that the clergy can ever reconcile itself willingly to the new state of affairs. Nor does the behaviour of the Italian clergy appear in any way suited to, remove these suspicions; so that estranged from the ministers, the people do not want to have anything to do with their ministrations, and have thus become liable to the temporal as well as eternal injuries which overtake those who practically abandon religion. Let it be considered whether under such conditions a true and efficacious influence of the church upon the civil life of nations is any longer possible: especially of our church which has always met with the greatest obstacle in constituting herself in civil life, and is at present under the impression of meeting therefrom the difficulty of maintaining herself."

Considering that in our times it would be impossible to muzzle the press, the author proposes also the abolition of the Congregation of the Index as a useless institution, and before doing so makes the following general remarks—"As to the press and to the book trade it entailed, most restricted and not a little slow as it was in its productions, it was in all Catholic countries under the superintendence and direction of the church, who could without much difficulty fulfil towards the believing people the salutary office of guarding it from the infected pasture of bad or only seriously dangerous books. A catalogue of such works compiled by order of the Synod of Trent, to which they were submitted as soon as they appeared, admonished the Catholics to abstain from reading them, with the indirect assurance that they may peruse without any risk those which were not mentioned therein, with only an exception to be alluded to further on. But the press having become free everywhere, and, on the other hand, printing enterprise having attained incredible celerity and extension, I do not know how the church can possibly provide for the faithful any special protection against the modern deluge of books, most of which are impious, materialistic or licentious; I know, however, for certain that the *Index* can no longer be a sufficient guide, and any one believing that whatever book is not mentioned therein is safe would be deceived. I have already mentioned that at present the most dangerous and pernicious, because the most efficacious, portion of the press is journalism, which is by its own nature also the least susceptible of caution; whilst the Congregation, with its 40 unpaid advisers

appointed more *ad honorem* than *ad onus*, is unable, I shall not say to judge, but even to know the boundless quantity of books poured forth every hour and from all sides, of which it usually examines only those that come with a denunciation and a copy of the book itself added thereto. Who would take the trouble to peruse the innumerable writings of the worst kind by which modern society is infested? And if this were done, who would care?" The author concludes his remarks on this subject with the following hit at the zealots:—"Thus the only serious effect which the Index appears at present to have is, that it is in the hands of the zealots, a very commodious machine for bringing discredit upon names and books that displease them; and suspended like the sword of Damocles only above the heads of the authors obedient to the church, the Index has been and remains one of the most efficacious ways for keeping the opinions of many Catholics steadfastly on the false and pernicious road which the zealots themselves are treading."

We shall now give, in conclusion, the opinions of the author on the Society of Jesus, which he discusses, in its origin, abolition and restoration, with loving kindness, and without any

The order of Jesuits and the expulsion of Father Curci from it.

rancour concerning his expulsion, although he cannot help expressing himself now and then bitterly about its present state and about certain members of that august body:—"As to the monastic family in whose bosom I have spent nearly all my life, I love and venerate it as it was established by its holy founder and approved of by the church in whose service it shone with holiness, with science, as well as with abundant and fruitful works. In this sense I maintain whatever I have written in defence of it, and although separated in the body, I consider myself most closely united to it in spirit, so that I believe I have never been so much a Jesuit, in the true and noble sense of the word, as I was and am since I have been expelled from the order. But just because I love and venerate it, my heart bleeds to see that it is apparently considered to be the pretext or ill-starred cause of the gravest evils which at present distress the Church in Italy; and this happened because some men of evil disposition have made unworthy use of an instrument prepared by me with infinite trouble for quite a different purpose from that to which they have applied it. It would really seem impossible that such a small number as theirs could acquire and exercise so vast and disastrous an influence; but the thing will appear most natural if it be considered that good is *positive*, somewhat difficult to effect, and that to do it on a great scale equally great instruments are required; whereas for evil, which is quite *negative*, even small and despicable causes may

produce disproportionately great effects, as when a little boy puts an edifice on fire and destroys in a short time a work which cost many years of labour and millions of money."

"I have said before that I would continue my labours after having put the last touch to my work on the New Testament, although I might foresee that the latter would meet the same fate as its author; I even wished it to be so; and as happens with things greatly desired, I also had a presentiment, which, however, proved after all fallacious. But as God has preserved my life and strength, giving me also the desire to employ them in his service, it appeared to me necessary to make every effort to lay bare a network of deceptions, which derives its whole strength from being concealed or badly known, if it cannot be actually said that it appears quite different on the surface, on account of the great moral powers of every kind and of every degree which are put forth to give it that appearance. I have done so in the *Moderno Dissidio*, but can now do it in a more efficacious manner on account of the singular circumstances in which I find myself placed. Then I had yet something to lose, and felt myself bound by not illegitimate considerations, which compelled me to conserve a kind of moral attitude, which I had succeeded in gaining, whilst working for the spiritual good of my fellow-beings; at present, however, when I am morally destroyed and therefore freed from those considerations, I shall, in the same way as I have discussed the external observances of the Church in Italy, be able to do the same for that peculiar Institution which is a chief member of the church herself, and could not escape those special shortcomings to which she is from time to time subject. The unmeasured confidence cherished in this institution for the material organization of its internal arrangements, and the superstitious admiration it entertains of its own perfection, causes it to presume that it is safe from the peril of decadence; and this presumption, far from shielding it, has only hastened its decay, making the same the more ruinous and less reparable the more obstinate it is in not acknowledging this decadence and still considering it impossible. Having reached this stage this institution was not only unable to frustrate and to repress the indignities now being committed by a group of ambitious and turbulent men, which are bringing discredit upon the church as well as upon the Roman See, but has protected them with the authority of its name, whereby it has contracted one of the most foul blots that disfigure history.

"Let it not be supposed that the question turns on a simple monastic dispute, which could only tire our people. All our distinguished laymen, who, sincerely loving the church and the country, deplore the ill-boding scission which has taken place between

them, and would, for the true benefit of both, desire to see it removed, cannot be indifferent to the knowledge of the true and immediate causes which have produced it. They will easily understand from the mean quality of the causes, and the low arts employed to keep up the scission, that being an entirely accidental and temporary thing, not of perpetual, and perhaps not even of long duration, God will cause it to disappear at the proper time, in the same way as He has for His own holy purposes allowed it to come into existence. They will, above all, ascertain by themselves (and this is the best course) those causes and those arts, and will easily be convinced that this scission was not brought about by the church, but only by more or less sophistic and false artifices representing that such has been the case, whereon they will divest themselves of all rancour towards her, and, abandoning every suspicion, will attach themselves more faithfully to her, because she alone can make their mundane life a preparation for the life of heaven. Such men will have no reason to be amazed, and still less to be scandalised at what has taken place."

Till the sixteenth century monks and friars constituted a particular militia, affording compact and powerful aid to the external action of the church, for the immediate service of the Roman See, but from that period it enjoyed also the assistance of regular orders of clerics. The service remained substantially the same, but its external form was more adapted to the advancing state of civilization. Society was no longer in a state of barbarous confusion which monks contributed to remove by ploughing the land, felling trees, establishing or arranging villages, and copying ancient manuscripts; they also contributed much to chasten the ferocious cupidity and brutality of manners during the middle ages, but their robust activity alone no longer satisfied all the changed forms of society. "The new generations," says Father Curci, "had nearly all been welded into strong monarchies, purified of the dross of the middle age, and had entered upon a new stage of civilization, which, already infected by the Renaissance with a smack of dissimulated paganism, was now by the rise of heresy in danger of being separated from all Christian, hitherto concentrated in Roman pontifical, culture. To meet these new wants neither the solitary cenobite nor the shaggy monk was peculiarly fit; an apostolical workman was required, who might, with all his conventual perfection, and the force accruing to him from numbers, kept in order by strict rules of discipline, nevertheless live in the midst of the people and resemble in all the appearances of external life a simple priest, but excel him in his aversion to the love of this world, and in his evangelical activity. This was the nature of the Regular clerics, new families of whom have been sent by God to the church, for

the service of the new state of society which began to constitute itself in the sixteenth century."

"Among these the order mentioned by me above was the foremost; it was by its founder, who had formerly been a soldier, constituted after the manner of a Military Company, and distinguished by the personal name of the Redeemer, not to separate it invidiously from other orders, but to profess a special worship of Him. From its very beginning it met with as much admiration on the one hand, as discouragement on the other; it became the mark for such warm affections and such ferocious hatreds that perhaps there is no human institution mentioned in history about which so much has been spoken in contrary directions, and which has left as ample vestiges as the Society of Jesus and this could not be the case unless it had been really and immensely great. But in times like ours, in which we priests, in order to cover our ignominy and our moral poverty, have that absolute and most commodious *it cannot be* constantly on our lips, and, imagining that we have not human aid enough for apostolic labours, are turning the world topsy-turvy to recover the lost or to obtain new assistance, in such times, I say, it will be very useful to know and to consider what the first causes of the greatness of the Jesuit Society were, especially as that greatness was not acquired by degrees, but it was, so to say, born a giant. A small handful of scholars arrived from Paris in Italy and in Rome, unknown strangers, without antecedents, without any reputation inherited from their ancestors, and therefore free from any pretensions to celebrity on these accounts; without juridical entity, without big houses, without any income, great or small; these men scarcely known were received, sought after, desired by all and above all, displayed such and so much activity, such fertility of resource, that contemporaries had never witnessed anything like it. Nor were the reasons for this success a secret; they were apostolic holiness and science, both as ancient in the world as the Church; the Jesuits, however, superadded to them an excellence of their own by their marvellous art of adapting them both to the special requirements of the new state of society, the necessities of which they studied in order to satisfy them, the legitimate tendencies of which they sought out to second them, and the wishes of which they explored to content them if just, to correct them if less just or even resolutely to curtail them when they were not just. And because, then, either on account of the real disorders which prevailed or by heretic calumnies, the suspicion was getting abroad and the rumour spreading that in the Catholic Church the temporal utilities of her ministers were always aimed at, these new workers desired, besides making profession of evangelical poverty as

religious clerics, to realise not ironically but in earnest the example put forth in the 6th chapter of the Apostle Paul, and in order to remove that stumbling-block, imposed upon themselves the obligation not to accept any remuneration for their labours." After alluding to the labours of St. Francis Xavier, and the most brilliant period of the Society, the author then briefly reviews the manner in which Clement XIV. was compelled to abolish it,* concluding with a glance at the state of affairs during the reign of the present Pope Leo XIII, as follows:—

"When strong absolute monarchies prevailed, and Europe was at least by right universally Catholic (in 1540), the task of the Society of Jesus was to labour to maintain that precious unity, and it powerfully contributed thereto during a little more than a century which was its golden age, without encountering serious enmity, except from the promoters of the new heresy, which it always violently assailed and not seldom discomfited. But when, after the thirty years' war, through the treaties of Münster and Osnabruck, afterwards surnamed the Westphalian Peace, heresy acquired a legal footing in Europe and influenced the new order of ideas which constituted the germs of the facts which ensued and are not yet completed, the Society fell somewhat into discredit; it had remained the same but no longer in the field of action for which Providence had destined it, chiefly on account of the democratic element which had begun to manifest itself in that new order of ideas, and which in the lapse of years emerged more and more from its latent state. If God had sent to His church a pontiff, who, securely and almost prophetically foreseeing the nature of coming times, might have taken possession of that element to direct it so that the rising democracies would have been Christian, a peculiar institution could have done nothing in this respect but follow the wishes expressed by the supreme pastor." Such was, however, not the case: the popes favoured despotism instead of democracy, in order to retain their power. "This was done in various ways, but chiefly by means of *Court confessors*, dozens of them being attached during a century and a half to every Court of Europe; who by the very great influence which they enjoyed, appeared sometimes to hold the political destinies of Europe in the fists of their hands, with the result, however, of seeming to give the sanction of religion to the arbitrary tyrannies committed at these courts and of covering with its mantle their turpitudes some of which were infamous. The wise injunctions issued by some Generals of the Jesuits to those confessors to limit their activity to the sphere

* See on this subject *Calcutta Review*, January 1883, Number CLI., p. 57. seq.

of their sacred ministry, bear witness to the reality and gravity of the evil, and may in some special cases have checked it; but in general they could be of no effect, as long as the courage was wanting to renounce the protection and the favours showered by courts upon the powerful Society of Jesus, which had however afterwards to atone for all this to the nations whom despotism had horrified and license disgusted." *

"For all that, however, Bellarmino and Suarez, the great theologians of the Society, condemned despotism from the first, and reasoned scientifically how much Christianity there may be in modern democracy. Another Jesuit, Mariana, published under the auspices of Philip II. of Spain (which means a great deal!) in the royal printing office a book in which he taught the doctrine of tyrannicide; a book which was forthwith burnt publicly by the hangman in Paris and in London. But who would care much for books? The omnipotence of the confessors at the courts became so obnoxious to the world, that its badly suppressed ire became intensified; and this world, intent upon the recoil which soon followed, thought it could not attain its purpose except by first accomplishing the extinction of the formidable Society. Thus the fatal blow was hurled at the Jesuits which the weak Ganganelli had been compelled to inflict upon them by the *penitents*, who paid in this coin for the services, which would have perhaps been worse for the servants if it had been of a different kind. I have said elsewhere that this was an injustice; and considering the act itself in connection with the motives which brought it on in the first place, and with the accompanying circumstances, it was really such, although not on the part of God who allowed it to fall upon those who succumbed to it. It is believed that the blow was inflicted in order to avoid the violence with which the Roman See was threatened, but it was not decorous in him who inflicted it to repeat in the *Disciplinary Brief* (exposed afterwards as liable to errors of fact, not a *Bull* which would have to deal with dogmas and morality) all the accusations accumulated upon the heads of the devoted victims for more than a century, by resentment abroad and envy at home. The misdeeds of the Society (which were not wanting) needed indeed correction and reform, but to justify its destruction an infamy was required, and this was unsparingly showered upon its head. This is, however, an additional convincing argument that, considering the position which the Catholic Powers have at present attained, the temporal power, far from being a guarantee for the independence of the pontiffs, may gradually become an instrument of slavery; nor is there any other more abject than that which compels to the

perpetration of injustice. It remains to be seen what Leo XIII. could at present be threatened with, if any power were, I do not say to impose, but only to propose to him an act which he might consider to be unjust."

After the fall of Napoleon I, in 1815, the Roman See enjoyed the protection of the Austrians, and, in order to carry on its tyrannical government, was under the necessity of using the same means at Rome and Bologna which they employed at Milan and Venice. At that critical period the clerical party considered that, if the famous Society of Jesus were resuscitated, it might render services to the Pope and to the Church, not less important than those it had afforded during the century of the Reformation; and Pius VII, having been invited to do so, revived the order. But, according to Father Curci, different times required different Jesuits, for he says:—"If the first members who were to represent and to arrange the order, had known the true nature of the present times, they would certainly have accepted it as a benefit to constitute themselves into a conventual family, devoted to their own improvement and to the spiritual benefit of their fellow beings with their sacred ministry; they would never even have dreamt of exercising the same salutary influence upon society in the nineteenth century by which their great predecessors had attained such great renown in the sixteenth and seventeenth. The needs of our age are quite different from those of ancient times, and instruments peculiarly suited to the latter could effect no more than the swords and lances of the middle ages against the needle guns and Krupp cannons of the present period. Nor can the ancient instrument in any way be adapted for present usage. Formerly the said institution with its superstitions and almost blind confidence in the supreme and invariable excellence of its own remedies, would not have tolerated even a proposal of an adaptation, and would have been almost presumptuous enough to expect the disease to accommodate itself to the medicine, rather than the latter to the former; such adaptation, however, of old to new things, which would betoken a certain kind of poverty of means in Providence, is usually not resorted to by God, who is so rich in His counsels, and who vouchsafes in new necessities new aid.

"Nevertheless the usual services, like those of other priests and different conventual families, could be expected from the Jesuits, but nothing more, and perhaps even less, on account of the suspicions conceived concerning them, and on account of their obstinate adherence to forms, which answered to the obliterated conditions of past times, now superseded by quite different ones. In

other countries the order was more pliable because in them it had no national tendencies ; in Italy, however, it encountered a peculiar difficulty, inasmuch as it could neither second these national tendencies without causing a kind of scandal as a sacred institution, nor oppose them without bringing new odium upon the Church. It, however, paid no heed to all this and accepted the arduous task, presenting itself as a restoration of Christian faith and morality, without regard for political and national interests that might become intermixed therewith ; but these were too numerous, and it neither remedied them by despising nor still less by ignoring them. In the beginning and for six or seven lustres, the Society—because it met with less obstinate opposition, enjoyed fresh traditions of the past, and had a superior General of much learning and great prudence—maintained itself in a kind of medium position apparently not strikingly below its ancient status, and contained members of some capacity ; those who remain of that period are the best whom it can now boast of. But, as the times became more turbulent, the favours bestowed upon the Society by an authority supposed to be powerful became so abundant, that in the two Sicilies, in the States of the Church and in the States of Sardinia the instruction of youth was put into its hands ; that step, however, instead of hurting others, terribly injured the Society, because for the church a period of decadence, and for it one of ruin, had set in. To make it afterwards more ruinous the petty haughtiness of its head contributed not so much as the absolute unfitness and almost nullity of the two men who had for two decades succeeded each other in assisting that head on the affairs of Italy."

"The need of obtaining recruits for responding to the favours of the [Church] government, induced the Society of Jesus to set about the acceptance of candidates with closed eyes, scarcely requiring anything from them beyond a disposition to blind obedience, and the no less blind admiration of the Society itself, to which at present, perhaps, a firm hope of the return of the old state of affairs is added ; nor was any notice taken of the cases, by no means rare, where some destitute families drove their sons into the rich and powerful society from which in all cases some advantages could be derived. Neither was there greater care exercised in preparing these novices than discernment in accepting them. Any one perusing in the *Constitutions* of the order what gifts of virtue, science and prudence are demanded from the Professed, who are called of four vows, would suppose that it contains rare distinguished men. Nevertheless in these latter times dozens of them have been promoted to that degree, with the same facility as the knights of various orders are at present created. This is a sufficient reason why

among several hundred Jesuits scattered throughout Italy—except those few of the first period mentioned above, most of whom worthily occupy positions at Rome in the service of the Church—there is not even one of them who rises above the most ordinary mediocrity, either by his apostolical labours, preaching, books produced, or in any other way. The best thing they can do is to deliver with grace (and it is a pity that grace cannot be printed) certain measured sermons which they had learnt in a seminary; in this line the Society has given nothing during the last thirty years. Nor could it be otherwise; for, as the tree is, so is the fruit. Any one who has seen what has become, during the last two decades, and more especially the latter half of them, of the *Collegio Romano*, the central Athenæum of the Jesuits, and the model for all others, can hope for nothing better; the only thing really great there is the immense presumption of the inmates in pluming themselves in every thing and above every body on the merits of their great predecessors, without considering what they themselves have become. In proportion as their true claims to public esteem disappeared, they applied themselves to the art of manufacturing false ones; the latest among which is to attribute all their poverty to the revolution, to the freemasons and to the liberals; without these, every one of them would have become a Suarez, a Patavio, a Segneri, or a Bertoli. It is not for the first time I speak of this state of affairs. I stood in the midst of it and was greatly distressed thereat; I revealed it to one who ought to have devised a remedy and not forgotten it; but that was already a period of turmoil which made every reform by human means impossible. Having in 1870 informed one of my foreign friends of great distinction, who had a hand in the general government of the order, and implored him to induce the General to apply a remedy, he answered:—‘There is a remedy, but it cannot be applied by the General,’ and on asking ‘Why?’ he added: ‘Because the only efficacious remedy is to destroy it.’ When the proper time arrived persons were not wanting who applied the remedy.”

One of the principal reasons why the Jesuits of Italy have lost all the confidence of the people as teachers of youth, is pointed out plainly enough:—

“If there was one thing of the sixteenth century that ought to have been retained, not for the sake of convenience but from moral obligation, it is rational science, which being almost identified with dogma is destined to last as long as the latter, and although ancient can never become obsolete; but the Society of Jesus has, with incredible levity, not only abandoned that science, but calumniated it in official instruction, persecuted it, and almost desired to expel it from the world, whilst obstinately adhering to

certain external forms of religion, and tenaciously observing some insinuations rather than injunctions suggested by the founder of the Society, which he had with great wisdom devised for the peculiar requirements of the century in which he lived, when heresy calumniated every thing in the Catholic church, and besides the dogma, attacked and denigrated most ancient and salutary observances, all of which were not extraneous to the dogma, such as the benedictions and the ceremonies of the liturgy, devout pilgrimages, the cult of images and of relics, the use of blessed water, of rosaries, of medals and of similar objects, which, without pertaining to the essentials of the religion, are material aids to all, but especially to those who feel themselves more inclined towards them. It was natural to recommend, to those who had to attack the said heresy, the practices just mentioned in a special manner, as a protest against those accusations, as an explicit profession of Catholicism, and as a legitimate reaction against heretical exaggerations; but when these ceased, the special suitability of this course ceased also, and as Rationalism had begun to prevail everywhere, the necessity made itself felt of educating the religious sentiment in a more serious, more deep, and, above all, more rational manner, so as to enable it better to resist the attacks of sophistry and the seductive assaults of the passions. Nevertheless precisely the contrary has been done here; I always speak of Italy, because I have seen and know that abroad the case is not such. To youth almost totally ignorant of the rational sciences, a religious nourishment was furnished, which, consisting nearly entirely of those little observances, trite and multiplied to such a degree as to beget nausea, might perhaps suit girls and nuns, but to young men destined to live in a state of society like ours could be only an unwieldy encumbrance to be cast off soon enough, as has unfortunately also generally been done."

It is the opinion of Father Curci, that after the new order of things had set in and the unification of Italy had been accomplished, and the Pope had lost his temporal power in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Jesuits to the contrary, they ought no longer to have meddled with politics or similar matters, but to have sedulously devoted themselves to the duties of their sacred ministry, without nourishing any hostile feelings towards the established order of things. He also avers that the more modest, more spiritual Jesuits, uninfluenced by the silly pretensions about the ancient celebrity of the order held forth by some, have done so; and that the few ambitious, restless and turbulent members, powerless to contend against the present state of affairs, ought to have followed their example. Such, however, was unfortunately not

the case ; and continues Father Curci: "Having been established for the defence of the spiritual power of the Roman See, they were in the greatest heat of the contest surnamed its Yanitcheris ; but now that the heretics care nothing for the Roman See whilst Catholics revere it more than ever, the Jesuits, in order to continue the duty and importance of the defence, have undertaken the restoration of the temporal power, without considering that it would in the present state of affairs be the most efficacious means of discrediting the spiritual power. Thus the metaphorical Yanitcheries might do to the popes what the real ones had more than once done to the Sultans, namely, depose them. But the instrument which was to have served in that campaign was made by the Jesuits the centre of that ill-fated clique which at present governs the Vatican, to the immense injury of the church and of Christian Italy, of which I have treated in this work."

Alluding to his expulsion from the order of Jesuits, Father Curci, instead of feeling aggrieved towards those who had effected it, avers that he does not entertain a shadow of bitterness towards them, and wishes neither for justification, reparation nor a return to the Society. On this subject he also says :—" When I one day excused myself from, I do not know what grave accusation lodged against me with the then General Superior, who was a high-minded and very experienced man, he comforted me, and, telling me to bear such malevolent insinuations quietly, added :—' You have great foes in the Society, and I do not believe this is due to any evil which you do.' But the senile and now decrepit simplicity of his successor, not allowing him to believe even in the possibility of such chicaneries existing among his people, only augmented them ; and he became the instrument not of restraining but of promoting them by his bilious little-mindedness which aided him in these matters. He likewise did not repress those base passions which were waiting for an opportunity to be let loose, and the propitious opportunity came when the fanaticism for the restoration of the temporal power became more furious and, liberated from all restraints imposed upon it by Pius IXth, henceforth proceeded to extremities. Therefore, my well known address to this pontiff, and some of my sentiments uttered in private on that subject in Milan, being taken for a pretext, I was enjoined to acknowledge the fancies propounded by the zealots as Catholic doctrines to be really such, and on my refusing to do so, I was given to understand that I would be expelled from the order. I might have required the tenets imposed upon me to be presented to me in writing, as a prelate of authority had suggested ; but when Cardinal Simeoni informed me that the General had



forearmed himself with the faculty empowering him to expel, and when Monsignor Ciascki, whom I intended to consult, uttered these very words to me: 'O Padre! Be sure of it! The distance between you and your people is too great! They want you no longer and drive you away,' then I understood that the affair was at an end, and wrote to the General, that if in order to remain in the Society, a declaration not allowed to me by my conscience was to be imposed upon me, he might do what he had determined to do. Perhaps I had gone a little too far, but even if I had asked for my dismissal entirely of my own accord, without the above-mentioned preceding injunction, it would have been granted to me canonically after finding that its motives were just; and my condition could not be worse than that of so many others who had left the Society in the same way, remaining and to remain decorously in the church as active priests and sometimes even as worthy prelates, two of whom are at present most eminent cardinals."

The chief cause of Father Curci's expulsion from the order was his emphatic denial of the possibility of restoring the Pope's temporal power as it was before; the zealots made the General understand that his expulsion was desired by the Vatican and would be approved of; their triumph would have been greater if he had committed some excess, or had at least become a Protestant; but he strictly conformed to the duties of his order; being, however, an author, his writings were misconstrued and attacked. "Having nevertheless," says he, "determined to remain silent, I was obliged to accept all the consequences of my taciturnity, and God granted me the favour to meet them not only with resignation but with joy. I understood well that these last years of mine, which might by the studies I had made, by the experience I had gained, and by the reputation, such as it is, that I had acquired have become the most fruitful of my life, had been destroyed. Not having ever had any connections with lay society except through sacred ministrations, I could not join it, and these ministrations were, I do not know by whom and why, interdicted to me not *de jure*, but certainly *de facto*, more than to one of the last of priestlets; and having been severed from family life when yet a child, I considered it my religious duty not to re-enter it as an old man. Being placed in this deplorable position, I thought that I might yet serve the church with my pen, and planned the work on the New Testament which I completed a few months ago. In order to begin and to continue my labour, I desired to join some edifying religious community, but was denied admission for fear of giving offence to the powerful clique which at present governs,

"Zelanti," of the ex-Jesuit Curia.

was a good priest in a village of Tuscany having offered me hospitality, I accepted it; he was, however, shortly after my arrival, summoned by the Vicar-General who severely reprimanded him on this account, so that he was nearly forced to put me out of his house; I remained, at all events, three months with him and finished the Gospel of St. Mathew. Then the season became inclement and I went to Naples, where I was kept at a distance from sacred society, placed, so to say, beyond the pale of the law, and, being shunned as a *pecus morbida*, found myself in absolute isolation, in a kind of extra-social state which would have been intolerable to any other man, but was to me only an efficacious and pleasant opportunity for completing my holy and dear work."

"Having published it, and been, so to speak, absent three years from the world, I imagined that the medicine of time would somewhat have abated the hatred entertained towards me, especially as I had signed a declaration which I desired to be proposed to me by the Holy Father. In that opinion, however, I was mistaken. The declaration, which had fully satisfied the pontiff, could not satisfy the zealots, who either misrepresented it or concealed it from each other and began to denigrate the book by denouncing it to the Roman Congregations, presenting to them a catalogue of suspected propositions it contained, which I have seen and of which I found the first so silly, that I did not consider it worth while to peruse the rest of them. Meanwhile it appeared to me that the enmity of many of them who were scattered about Naples had commenced to become scandalous, excepting a few who dared to salute me; accordingly I requested their superior through the Vicar-General to grant me an interview, in which I would show him the affection I entertained for him and for his people. He replied to me on the 30th October 1879 in very courteous terms that he would within five or six days make an appointment to me; I understood that he wanted instructions from the General, but these must have been prohibitive, because I am, after 19 months, still waiting for the appointment."

"When I was in Rome for a few days towards the end of last year, I represented these things to an eminent personage who has for a long time honoured me with his benevolence, not indeed to ask for reparation (I am not tired of repeating that I am happy in my tribulation, and look for nothing), but because it appeared to me serviceable for the church that these things should be known to him and to some others. The excellent man showed me much sympathy, saying:—'It is true' You might yet do good, chiefly here in Rome; but these men do not like it'

Then he remained silently thinking a while on the subject, and in order to indicate who these men who do not like it were, added:—‘Those of the *Civiltà Cattolica* are irreconcilable and fierce!’ I, who knew this already by experience, learnt nothing from these words; but may consider them as a splendid confirmation of my whole book, and they have also suggested to me the first thought of writing it. At present there is a clique which distinctly points out the direction to be followed, even in matters that are disagreeable, and perhaps scarcely consonant with justice, but the thing is most natural. On the supposition that at present the greatest need of the church is to maintain a state of expectancy concerning the restoration of the temporal power in its pristine form, it is considered necessary to aid in everything any one who merely has the courage to keep that idea alive, and possesses an efficacious way of doing so; so it happens that, as during the past century a sacred Society was destroyed in order to save the thing itself, it has been judged necessary now to allow a man to be destroyed to conserve the mere expectation of it. This is so small a matter, that the fact, such as it is by itself, is scarcely worth noticing; but it would be very good for the church, if she were to take much notice of what that fact means. And the reader may at any rate perceive therein the exemplification of one of the chief subjects of the present book; and he will, for the sake of that perception, I hope, pardon me for having spoken too much of myself and of my affairs.”

We may in conclusion add the following notice of the present position of Curci, which we translate from a well-known daily paper of Rome, the *Rassegna* of November 26th, 1882:—“Padre Curci has for several months established himself in Rome, living like a hermit in a small new house of the Esquilino between Santa Maria Maggiore and S. Giovanni. He sees nobody and allows nobody to see him, being apparently desirous to fall into oblivion. He is engaged on the study of the Psalms, and dwells with that Monsignore Savarese who has in a brief time represented many parties, but, having made amends for his past liberal errors, has obtained a monthly allowance from the Vatican and remains quiet, as far as a man of morbid unrest like him can be so. Curci accordingly causes no one to speak about himself, and is studying. He is an almost annulled oratorical force; there is no interdict upon him as regards the performance of mass, but he is forbidden to preach. He might do much good, especially at Rome, which suffers from a deplorable want of sacred orators. The excellent curate Cipolla of San Tommaso, who is afflicted with a grave malady which hinders him from

preaching, remembered that Curci is in Rome and proposed him as a substitute to the congregation of his church. The congregation accepted him, and the prospect of enjoying in Rome a series of religious discourses from Curci induced Don Giuseppe Cipolla to go to the Pope, to explain the case and to request him on the part of the congregation to allow Curci to preach in the church of San Tommaso. The Pontiff allows him to speak, nods, so to say, approval with his head to encourage him, and then replies :—"Yes, yes, Curci would please me as a curate, but we must act in concert with the Vicar-Cardinal." At these words Cipolla lost heart, because he knew that nothing would be done. Thus one of the largest parishes of Rome is deprived of the eloquence of an ecclesiastic like Curci. Meanwhile uneducated priests and friars enjoy full liberty to preach. Leo allows the Vicar-Cardinal, who is a man of much good sense, but quite full of vulgar prejudices, more liberty than Pius IXth allowed to Cardinal Patrizi, an old man of scanty talents, but of a good deal of tact." In 1883 Father Curci published his translation of the Psalms, and delivered a public course of lectures in Rome, but was never allowed to preach.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. III.—FOLK-SONGS FROM NORTHERN INDIA.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

I HAVE in two former articles in this Review * dwelt at some length on the songs and catches sung by the villagers of Northern India, but as the subject is still comparatively untouched, and as the collection of such things is, in the words of, an old Sikh to me, like 'a hand-measurement' of the ocean (*samundar di nāp*), I make no apology now for continuing it.

In the former papers the songs explained and discussed purported to give the modern rustic views on religion, home and marriage customs, on nursery rhymes and lullabies, on riddles and *facetie*, on politics, and, lastly, on love, and local songs.

The songs of the small collection, however, on which I now propose to draw, refer to more specific matters connected with the daily life, habits and thoughts of the Northern Indian rustic population, and how truly they reflect these I hope to show in the course of the following pages. For the present purpose they will be considered firstly as illustrating (1) descriptive mythology; (2) description generally, and (3) moralities; secondly, as songs used in the course of daily and periodical avocations, such as (4) spinning songs, (5) hand-mill songs, (6) songs of the wet season, (7) field songs, (8) harvest songs; thirdly, as songs referring to persons whose local fame has descended even into rustic life, or (9) personal songs. To these will be added (10) a few belonging specially to rude and wild tribes collected by Dr. Leitner. †

To take this collection categorically. The religious songs previously given bore almost entirely on the inward religious feeling of the people, while the present songs have reference, on the other hand, to their outward religion, or concrete beliefs as it were. The one thing that most forcibly strikes the student of the people of an Indian village is that their religion is two-fold; as exhibited in their songs and catches, their sayings and proverbs, and the preaching of their independent spiritual leaders on the one hand, and in their ritual, their mythology, their superstitions and the practices of their orthodox priests on the other. These parts may be described as the religion of the heart and the religion of custom; the former being in a condition of perpetual antagonism to the latter. Your rude Panjabi villager, ignorant almost

* No. CXLVIII. pp. 317 ff.
and No. CXLIX., pp. 41 ff.

† *Sketch of the Changars*, 1880.
and *Linguistic Fragments*, 1882.

of the very existence of the world outside his own district and content to give his daily worship to a red-daubed and shapeless stone under a tree as the outward and visible manifestation of his deity, and who will, in his own rough way, explain the whole story of Rāma and Sītā, Hanumān and Ravana, and their doings, will in his time of trouble recite for his consolation a verse, straight perhaps from Kabīr, on the vanity of this world and the unity of the God that guides it. His wife, who will strictly follow the behests of her priests in all matters affecting her daily life, and who will implicitly believe in the concrete existence of the whole Hindu Pantheon, will, as the following pages abundantly show, while she sits spinning at her wheel or grinding at her hand-mill, hum to herself verses using the very vocabulary of her occupations to symbolize obvious moralities and doctrines of religion based on the overthrow of all things that she has been taught to treat as holy. We have here the antagonistic influence of the moral preaching of the mediæval Indian reformers on the mind, and of the superstitious teaching of the Brāhmans on the imagination, working simultaneously, neither strong enough to overcome the other. There is, then, always co-existent in the rustic mind a concrete form of belief as represented by his mythology and an abstract form of belief as represented by his religious sayings. It is with the former that we now have to deal.

The present songs under the head of descriptive mythology may be divided, firstly, into those connected with the legends about Siva, Pārbatī, and Ganesa, and the respective forms of the two former of these, known as Bhairava and Kālī; secondly, into those about Rāma, Sītā and Hanumān; thirdly, into those relating to the various tales about Krishna; and lastly, since to the Hindū mind one object of veneration is as powerful for good or evil as another—a saint as a God,—I have included in the same category two songs about Gurū Nānak, the promoter of the Sikh reformation.

These hymns and songs will be found to tell their tale in a direct unvarnished way without any of the accessories of literary polish, except rhythm and rhyme, and since they are very useful as indications of the terms in which the people speak of their deities and of the feelings with which they regard them, I have given them in original with close prose translations.

In the first song the common story relating to the circumstances under which Ganesa came by his elephant's head is conceived in simple prosaic terms, precisely as it would be were it a prose narrative of some saint possessing miraculous powers (as they all do). The deities act and talk just like human beings, and there is nothing about them, except their well-known names, to show

that the inventor attached any god-like attribute to his characters. The story tells itself and requires no explanation :—

*Gaurjā jab nahāne lagī to ubtan putr banāe ;
Dwāre men batthādekar ap gai thē nahāe.
'Koi mānas āve nahān is dwāre ke bīch ;
Kan: hove, yā sādī ho, yā koi hove nīch.'
Mahādev ne ānke bhītur jāne chāhā ;
Jo bastā is putr ke so manā karne ko kōhā.
Gallū kūt our phenkkar kuchh nahin rukhīās ;
Aisī chot chālādeke keh sīs gayā Kailās !
Jab dekhā hai Gaurjā to dhar liyā godī bīch :
'Ik pal men zindā kuro, ai pāpī tum nīch !
Mahādev is krodh ko dekhke bhāhar ghydā ;
Ik gai ko wahātū dekhke kuchh bhī na karī dayā ;
Sīs kāt aur lācke dhar par an dharā ;
As bālak brjān ko pal men zindā karā.
Pārbatī ko sukh diyā aur ap hue sukh chain :
Anand donon ko huā aur katan lage dīn rain.*

When Gaurjā (Pārbatī) went to bathe, she made a son from her cosmetics.

Seating him in the doorway she went to bathe,
(Saying), "no man is to come inside the door,
Whether my husband, or a saint, or any mean fellow."
Mahādev (Siva) came and wanted to go inside ;
The boy prevented him by words as much as he could.
He ruthlessly cut off his head and threw it away ;
So fiercely did he cut, that the head went to Kailās (Himalayas).
When Gaurjā saw this she took the body into her lap,
(Saying), "make him alive again in a moment, you low
scoundrel !"

When Mahādev saw her anger he went outside,
And saw an elephant there, and without pity
He cut off the head and brought it and placed it on the body,
And made the dead child alive at once.
He pleased Pārbatī and became happy himself ;
Both were pleased and began to pass their days in ease.

We now pass on to an *ārtī*, or hymn of praise, in honor of Sivā in his character of the Mahāyogi or Great Ascetic, with which is coupled his character of the inventor of self-drugging. The propensity of ascetics to intoxicating drugs is a marked characteristic of them to the present day. The hymn in fact expresses in words the usual representation of Sivā in *bāzār* pictures and on the walls of ordinary Hindu village temples, describing him in his ascetic garb concocting a potion of *bhāng* with the help of his consort Pārbatī. The only classical allusions are to the story of Gangā (the Ganges) issuing from his matted hair, or rather from the top-knot into which it is wound, a very common subject in pictures ; and to his sacred bull Nandi, which was his conveyance and which is represented as never being absent from his side.

Arti.

Jalā jūt se Gangā bahit,
Būti ohāne Shankar hain.
Pārbatī se sāsī pakart
Ganpat baithe dekhāt hain.
Niche thūthā, pās hai garhwā,
Hāth dālkar chhānat h-in.
Rūnd mālaur mudrā pahine
Bāt karat man mānat hain
Sewak piche chaurī kartā,
Jap mālā hai kur men liye.
Bail batthā āngan men hai,
Aur khur apne ko āge kiye.

Hymn of Praise.

From his matted hair and knot the Ganges flows,
 While Shankar (Siva) strains the *bhang*.
 Pārbatī has taken the straining-cloth
 And Ganpat (Ganesa) sits and looks on.
 Beneath (the cloth) is the wooden bowl and the brass cup near :
 Taking the *bhang* into his hand he strains.
 Wearing his necklace of skulls and sacred earrings,
 He talks what his mind desires.
 A follower fans him behind,
 With a rosary in his hand.
 His bull sits in the yard,
 Placing his hoof in front of him.

Another song, though not dignified by the title of a "hymn of praise," tells the same story with some slight difference as to details and an apology for describing Sivā as being in a state of perpetual intoxication, for, being God, 'he can do no wrong !'

Mahādev aur Gaurjā būti chhāne āp
Sudā rahte h-in ye mutwāle, par kuchh nahin karte hain pāp.
Jalā jūt aur nāg gale men, dhotī lāl luge tan men ;
Ap to baithe bhang ko chhāne ; bail batthā jā āngan men.
Bangle men batthā : Pārbatī se bāten karte rangārang,
Jo mutwālā hone chāhe, so ākur pā leve bhang.

Mahādev (Siva) and Gaurjā (Pārbatī) are straining *bhang*.
 He is always drunk, but can do no wrong.
 With matted hair and top-knot, a snake on his neck, and red
 loin-cloth on his body,
 He sits and strains *bhang* and his bull sits in the yard.
 In the summer-house he sits and talks on all kinds of subjects
 with Pārbatī.
 Who would be drunk, can come and drink *bhang*.

The next song describes Siva and Pārbatī returning home as from a journey. They are riding together on the sacred bull Nandi in an affectionate manner, and are met near their house by their faithful attendant, Ganesa, who, according to the pictures of this occasion, is duly provided in the usual Indian fashion with the eternal *dālā*, or gift of fruit and flowers, that so worries the

European official of the present day. The peculiar point about the picture and the song is that Siva and Párbatí are here represented as violating all the proprieties of native life. They are riding pillion which is very shocking to modern Indian female modesty, and he, the husband, has his arm on his wife's shoulder in public, and that is still more shocking! The same excuse is given for this as for the fact of the deities being engaged in straining *bhāng* together. They are gods, and can do no wrong! But may not the real explanation be that the picture and description go back to times long anterior to present ideas of social right and wrong, and simply describe customs which were usual before they began to be considered improper?

*Mahādev aur Gaurjī bāñ pe hoke suwār,
Ganpat kar le nazer ho ā dekhe didār.
Dhwājī hāth aur nāg gule men,
Pīlā jūrāhai bāñd he.
Párbatī se bāt karē,
Par hāth dhare us ke kāñdhe.*

Mahādev and Gaurjī ride pillion on a bullock,
Ganpat comes to meet them with a gift in his hand.
A flag in his hand, a snake on his neck,
With yellow matted hair fastened in a knot,
He (Sivā) speaks to Párbatī,
With his hand on her shoulder.

Bhairon is the universal modern word for Bhairava, the terrible form of Siva in the olden time, but that Bhairon represents now the terrible Bhairava in anything but name is more than doubtful. He is one of the commonest deities of the present North Indian villagers and is worshipped everywhere, but more as a beneficent than as a terrible god. Even the low Musalmans reverence him as the messenger of their greater saints. His invariable representation is that of a warrior or wrestler of the ordinary Indian type, and though he appears to be able to use his strength to punish sinners, he apparently more often does good than harm. The whole question of the modern cult of Bhairon is very interesting and well worth study, but the investigations as yet have been too elementary to admit of further notice here. The song merely gives an account of the pictures of Bhairon to be found everywhere.

There is one word, *botal*, in it which is worthy of remark. It is spelt in the vernacular. बोटल which shows more clearly than the transliterated form its direct descent from our own English word 'bottle.' The words, *dūje kar botal*, 'a bottle in his other hand' exactly represent what one always sees in one of Bhairon's hands in a modern picture of him, viz., a quart bottle of the usual type. What this bottle was in the older pictures I am unable

to say. The gradually extending influence of English manufactures and English words enpressing them into every form of Indian life is here once more illustrated. English words are now to be found in the ordinary speech of natives, even in the wild hill dialects of the Himalayas and in the polished writings of authors who are considered elegant by their contemporaries. It is of considerable value to philology to note as far as possible *now* all the genuine instances,* such as this, of the use and form of English importations into the vernacular, before they have become so corrupted as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to satisfactorily trace them to their origin.

*Bhairon bîr harâ hai sab men,
Jis kâ bâhan kuttâ hai
Mughdar hith, dijge kor botal;
Kâdhi nahin pahine juttâ hai;
Gal men nâg, kân men mundaî,
Suhî kharâwân pahinâ karê;
Har ek bîr parî sab is kâ nâm
Nazar se durâ karê
Gal mâhî aur pag men ghângrû,
Pâlâ dupattâ kîndhe par,
Bânh men bahotî, tan men jânghûî,
Pahluwân kî sîrat kar.*

Bhairon is the greatest warrior of all,
Whose chariot is a dog.
In one hand is a club, and in the other hand a bottle.
He never wears leather shoes.
A snake on his neck, a magic ring in his ears,
He ever wears wooden shoes.
Every warrior and fairy at his name
And at sight of him trembles.
Necklace on his neck, and anklets on his feet,
Yellow cloth on his shoulder,
Bracelets on his arms and short-drawers on his body,
He wears the form of a wrestler.

Just as Bhairon is the terrible form of Siva, so Kâlî (Bhairavî) is the terrible form of Devî (Pârvatî), but, unlike the modern Bhairon, she retains all the horrors attributed to her to the full. Under the name of Durgâ,* her form and worship is still so well known, that she needs no description here. The special interest attaching to the *bhajan* or hymn in her honor now given is that it is what is known as a *Suthreshâhî bhajan*. The Suthreshâhîs are a well known and very interesting sect of licensed religious mendicants in the Panjab. Their own account of themselves is that in the days of the persecution of Hindus under

* "Durgâ Pûjâ," a small book published in 1871, by P. Ghosha, at the Hindu Patriot Press, Calcutta, gives a very fair account of Durgâ and her worship.

Aurangzeb, it was usual for Qázís and the like to insult Bráhmans by licking off the *tilak* marks from their foreheads and biting through their *janeus* or sacred threads with their teeth. Suthrá Sháh, a celebrated religious mendicant of Agrá, made his *tilak* of human ordure and his *janeu* of hog's gut, and then induced the Qází there to insult him in the usual way, for which rash act the unfortunate Qází of course afterwards duly repented. Suthrá Sháh, afterwards by his magic arts, obtained the good will of the Emperor, who offered to grant him whatever he wished. His request was for leave for himself and his followers to beg and the right to demand a pice at every shop they begged at. This was granted, and has been most religiously carried out ever since, for these persistent beggars will simply sit *dharná* till they get their pice.* The present hymn is merely a description of Kálí put into the first person.

Suthresháht Bhajan.

*Main Káli Kalkattewáli ;
 Buchan na jáve kháti !
 Ik háth tarsúl liye hai :
 Dúye kharg sambháti
 Tíje khappar rude kar lúá :
 Chavtho stá katáli !
 Durt ko már pagon tale dárú :
 Ap hút háñ niháti !*

Hymn of the Suthresháhts.

I am Kálí of Calcutta !
 My word is never broken !
 In one hand my sceptre :
 In a second hand I hold my sword :
 In a third hand I take a cup of blood :
 In a fourth hand a severed head !
 I place my fallen enemy under my feet
 And am victorious !

The second set of hymns refer to the long cycle of legends which have gathered round the memory of the hero Ráma Chandra and his wife Sítá. They probably give expression to the popular ideas of fitting representations of the scenes in the *Rámáyana* (not the ancient account of Válmíkí, but of the modern Tulsí Dás), all of which, as Mr. Growse has remarked in his admirable translation of the latter, are so familiar to the modern populations of the North of India as to form a part of their existence. In the first song we find Ráma and Sítá at home attended by their ever faithful friend and succourer

* See *Panjáb Notes and Queries*, *Aqí Granth*, p. cxvii., enumerates them Vol. 1, Note No. 368. Trumpp in his among Sikh *sastras*.

Hanumán. It evidently represents what to the rustic Indian mind are the proper and fitting occupations and manners of a royal couple; wide enough of the truth, but not more so probably than are the popular notions on such matters all the world over.

*Rám Chandar chaut par baithe,
Sítá sang liye tan men .
Hanumán k'ir jorke púchhe,
"Ab kyá ichhā hai man men ?"
Hāth jorkar Sítá púchhe,
"Aj kahān jāoge shikār ?
Kitne der jungal men rahoge ?
Phir kab hovenge didār ?"
Bangale men baithe chhatar ke niche,
P'ichhe se chauri kartā hai.
Hanumán chalne kī púchhe,
Bintī kartā dartā hai.*

Rám Chandar sits upon his throne,
Keeping Sítá beside him.
Hanuman with joined hands asks,
"To-day what is the desire of thy heart ?"
With joined hands Sítá asks,
"To-day where wilt thou go a-hunting ?
How long wilt thou remain in the jungles ?
When wilt thou visit me again ?"
In the royal summer-house they sit,
And some one fans them from behind.
Hanumán asks about his departure,
And asks with fear.

The second song represents Ráma and Sítá sitting in full Court surrounded by as great a variety of deities and heroes as the author can readily call to mind. The occasion is the coronation of Ráma Chandra as king of Ayodhyá by his priest and preceptor Vasishtha (Visvámitra according to the song).*

*Rám Chandar singhāsān baithe,
Sítá ko bhī sang liyā
Bishwāmitr ne apne kar se
In ko ākar tilak diyā,
Brahmā, Kāhn, Mahādev
Aur Hanumán sab dekhāt hain.
Jaisa jis ke bhāg men likh diyā,
Waisā lekhā likhāt hain.*

Rám Chandar sits on his throne,
Taking Sítá with him, too.
Visvámitra with his own hands
Puts the royal mark upon him.
Brahmā, Kāhn (Krishna) and Mahādev (Siva),
And Hanumán look on.
As it is written in one's fate
So will the lines by fate be drawn.

Hanumán is curiously represented in a *bhajan*, or hymn, written in the style known as the *dohrá*, as swaggering over his conquest of 'the demon,' i. e., of Rávana, the king of Lanka (Ceylon) and ravisher of Sítá. In the hymn he carries off Ráma Chandra and his brother Lakshmana on his shoulders to Bindrában, evidently in imitation of the ordinary representation of these "holy ones," at the annual Dasahra Festival in October, as small Bráhmaṇ boys. I have myself on more than one occasion seen the little children representing Ráma, Lakshmana and Sítá carried away home after their performance of the "miracle play" on the shoulders of their relatives, dead tired and half crying with their weariness.

Bhajan—Dohrá

*Hanumán ne duitya ko mārā, kahtā jāitā hai sab ko.
Lāchhman Rām liye kāndhe par sukh detā hai bhagīan ko.
Dusht ko mārā, bhagat ko tārā ; āp chale Bindrában ko :
Tir kumán liye kar donon sukh dete hain Santan ko.*

Hymn.

Hanumán goes along telling every one he has killed the demon.
Taking Lachhman and Rām on his shoulders he pleases the
Holy Ones.

He killed the enemy and saved the Holy Ones and went himself
to Bindrában (Mathurá):

With bow and arrow in hand, he pleased the Holy Ones.

To pass on to the legends of Krishna. A hymn, of more than usual merit poetically speaking, has reference to his early life when Vasudeva, to prevent the destruction of every child his wife Devakí bore him, evaded the guards of the tyrant Kansa, and escaped with his son from Mathurá across the Jamnā to Yasodá's house. In the song, Yasodá is asking the child Krishná how he fared at his parents' house, and he answers her in true childish fashion. It should, however, be borne in mind that the orthodox legend in the *Vishnu Purána* says that Krishná was one day old only when he reached Yasodá's house!

Bhajan.

*Jasodá Krishn se pūchhe bat :
Jasodá Krishn se pūchhe bát :
" Kaise rahe tum Gokul men ?
Aur kaise hain pitú māt ? "
Jasodá Krishn se pūchhe bát :
Jasodá Krishn se pūchhe bát :
" Kaise rahe tum Gokul men ?
Aur kaise hain pitú māt ? "
" Māt pitú ke sab kuchh kháyá :
Bahot kháyá dudh-bhát !
Donon sang na chhoren merá :
Liye phiren din rāt ! "*

báat.

Hymn.

Yasodā asks of Krishna :
 Yasodā asks of Krishna :
 "How wert thou at Gokul ?
 And how were thy parents ?"
 Yasodā asks of Krishna :
 Yasodā asks of Krishna :
 "How wert thou at Gokul ?
 And how were thy parents ?"
 "I eat up everything of my parents
 And I eat much milk and rice !
 They never left my company,
 And kept me with them day and night !"

da capo.

Another hymn, which is also of a more than usually poetical character, describes the prayer of the Gopīs (cowherdresses) to Krishna, when, according to the well-known tale, he, as a mischievous lad, took away all their clothes while they were bathing. In the pictures of him, however, that one usually sees in the *bāzārs*, he is a black lad sitting on a throne vigorously playing on his reed (*murlī*), while fully dressed young women representing the Gopīs stand before him with joined hands, the accepted attitude of respect according to Indian notions.

Bhajan.

Hari, tum bintī sun lo hamārī !
Janam janam kī ablī hain !
He Prabhū dāsī tūhārī !
Kar jor kar, ham bintī karat hain !
Dūr karo birtā hamārī !
Nand Jasodā he tum ladle !
Ham kyā jāne becharī !
Hari, tum bintī sun lo hamārī !
Chit se simran tumharā karat hain !
Meto chintā hamārī !
Dukh dūr karke, sukh men hīn dāro !
Hain ham dāsī tūhārī !
Hari, tum bintī sun lo hamārī !

Hymn.

Hari (Krishna), hear thou our prayer !
 We have been humble for many births !
 O Lord, we are thy slaves !
 With joined hands we make our prayer !
 Put away our trouble !
 'Thou darling of Nanda and Yasodā !
 What do we helpless ones know ?
 Hari, hear thou our prayer !
 We worship thee in our hearts !
 Blot out our griefs !
 Taking away our griefs, bring us to joys !
 We are thy slaves !
 Hari, hear thou our prayer !

A prosaic picture-song on the same subject describes what has been just said in so many words. Krishna is sitting on a throne receiving the petitions of the Gopis in due Indian form, but is turning a deaf ear to all their entreaties. The last line is in fact all that seems to have survived of the original legend, for even the time-honoured *amritā*, the ambrosial drink of the gods, is turned into a *gilās sharbat* ! the *gilās* being a corruption of the English word 'glass,' just as the *botal* above mentioned. It is, however, worthy of remark that the *gilās* of the Indian *bāzār* is more a metal tankard than a 'glass,' being a sort of tumbler in brass, silver or plated-ware.

*Singhāsan par takiyā lagākar baithe Krishn Murārī.
Bansī hajākar sab ko dekhen, "yeh dāst hain hamārī."
Ik gilās liye kar sharbat dījī chaurī dhārī. •
"Kīrpī Sindhū, tum pī lo is ko, ap barē Gīrdhārī ?"
Hāth hāndhkar dījī bolī, "yeh surtī kyūn dhārī ?
Hanskar mujh se bachan karo, main dāst hūngī tuhārī.
Ap lagākar takiyā bāithē mukh men bansī bajāen."
"Hum nahin sunte kist kī bintī sau sau hā hā khāen."*

Krishna Murārī is sitting on his throne, leaning on a cushion. Piping he regards them (saying), "These are my handmaids." One has a glass of sherbet in her hand, another has a swish. "O Lord of kindness, drink of this, thou great Gīrdhārī." Another says with joined hands, "Why art thou angry thus ? Smile on me and speak, I am thy slave, Thou that sittest piping on the cushioned throne !"

"I listen to no one's beseeching, sigh they a hundred times !"

The last two songs giving descriptions of objects of veneration refer to Gurū Nānak expatiating on his doctrines to his admiring followers and faithful servants Mardānā and Bālā, winding up in each case with a neat little moral sentiment after the fashion of innumerable similar scenes in the *sākhīs*. *

*Gurū Nānak baithā jap kartā ; jap mālī hai hāth liye.
Mardānā hai bhajan sunātā, kar apne men rubāb liye.
Bālā kar ko jorke pūchhe, "Gurū, Kartā kyā Kartā hai ?"
Uttar diyā, hī, "jo kuchh mānas apne man men dhartā hai."*

Gurū Nānak sits and tells his beads, with rosary in his hand. Mardānā sings a hymn, his rebeck in his hand. Bālā with joined hands asks, "Gurū, what doeth God ?" He answers, "What men desire in their minds !"

*Gurū Nānak baitha brichh niche :
Chit sab ka Kartā wal khiche.
Mardānā hai rubāb bajātā,
Sanmukh Gurū Nānak ko sunātā.
Kar jore sab chit lā sunte,
Prem jagat hā nam se lunte.*

* See the *Janam Sākhī* in the introduction to Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, *passim*. Also in Sardar Atar Singh's *Sākhies Book*, Benares, 1873 and his *Sākhīs*, Lahore, 1876.

*Sundar baithak, farash, bikkhová ;
Mail páp sab hū dār honá.
Sab kahle nám Kartár,
"Berá tumhará hogá pár."
Chit se dhyán Kurá wal láo :
Man ichhá tum pūran páo."*

Gurú Nának sits beneath the tree : -
And all hearts are drawn to God.
Mardáná plays the rebeck,
And plays in the presence of the Gurú.
With joined hands all listen attentively,
Removing the love of the world from their minds.
Beautiful are their seats, carpeted and cushioned :
Dirt and evil are far from them all.
He says to all in the name of God,
"Thy ship will cross over. (thou wilt be saved).
Bring the worship of thy soul to God,
And obtain the desire of thy heart."

Somewhat in the same style is a song descriptive of a *churel*, one of the commonest objects of dread to the ordinary native. I have at some length already described the *churel* in this Review.* Suffice it, therefore, here to say that it is generally the ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth, and that it is a peculiarly malignant spirit. As regards the rustic conceptions of the *churel's* outward appearance, the following verses are sufficient indication :—

The long lean hands, the lanky hair,
The foul black skin, the tongue aflame,
The feet turned back, the hungry air,
Too surely the *churel* proclaim.
Screams with pale fear the town-bred maid,
And hurries from that sight of dread.

Another descriptive song relates the manner in which a Kashmíri, family trudged all the way from their home in the Happy Valley to the Panjab. It speaks for itself and requires no special comment.

When I came from Kashmír with mother and wife,
And all that is dear to me in this life,
On his mother's back one little boy slept
And in my basket another I kept !
But the big girl trudged, for humble we were ;
And that is the way that we came from Kashmír.

Passing on from religion to proverbial philosophy, which occupies the next place to it in the villager's mind, I give two very widely known and often quoted stanzas. They are here quoted in the vernacular as well as in a rhymed English rendering.

*Sadá na phulan tortán .
Sadá na Sáwan hoe :
Sadá na joban thir rake :
Sadá na jáve kor.*

Sadda na rájián hákimí :
Sadda na rájián des :
Sudda na hove ghar apná :
Bhath pia purdes.

Youth will not always stay with us :
 We shall not always live :
 Rain doth not always fall for us :
 Nor flowers blossoms give.
 Great kings not always rulers are :
 They have not always lands :
 Nor have they always homes, but know
 Sharp griefs at strangers' hands. *

To the same class belongs a poetical little rhyme in praise of the water-carrier so necessary to Indian life and comfort, and who, by the way, has been honorifically designated *bahishtí*, or "the heavenly," by a grateful public.

The grateful stream of water cool.
 The heated fires of thirst that slakes,
 Bring forth for him that kindly gives
 A blessing meet from him that takes.
 God grant him bliss in very deed
 That water brings to them that need.

We now come to a large and important class of songs touching upon a constant and very necessary occupation of modern female life in India, as it used to be in Europe in days gone by—the spinning of yarn. The spinning songs are of two kinds, the light and amusing sung by girls and the younger women, and the serious and moral and semi-religious sung by the elders. The peculiar vocabulary of the occupation naturally lends itself equally to giving piquancy to a light love ditty or to pointing a moral. Some account, therefore, of the native method of spinning and of the words employed to express the different parts of the instruments used and the various operations is here given. The entire spinning-wheel apparatus is called *charkhá*. It consists of a wheel, *pukhrí*, *phat*, or *thar*, turned by a handle, *hathkarí*, *hathá*, or *hathrí*, on an axle, *gaz* or *lath*, and raised on supports, *khunte*, *khunde*, *munní* or *páven*. The apparatus stands on two blocks of wood or short boards, called the front and rear blocks, *murlí* and *pichhlí* *patrí*, the wheel standing on the rear block. These are connected by a rod, *kádh*. The wheel turns a needle, or reel, variously called *takwá*, *takulá*, *mund*, *chhallí* and *galotá*, fastened to two pegs *khundí*, *munní*, or *khúntí*, fixed into the front block. It is held in its place by holders of leather or grass, *chamrakh*,

* This and several others of these songs have, from time to time, been already published in part, but without explanations, as "songs of the people" in the *Civil and Military Gazette* at Lahore.

or vulgarly *charmak*. The wheel is connected with the needle by a thread, *máhl*, passing through a hole in a central peg, *guddi*, placed between the *khúntis*, on to some thread wound round the centre of the needle, *bkurang*. The needle is kept from working out of its holders by two washers, the outer one being called *dumkará* and the inner one *bérí*. The spun cotton while still on the needle is called *nichulí*, and a small needle, *tukwí*, *takulí* or *suláí*, is used for unwinding the *nichulí* from the needle when it sticks. The cotton is wound off the needle by hand on to a *teran* or winding reel, and it then becomes an *áttí* or skein. When the apparatus consists of two or more wheels (*pakhris*) the wheels are kept apart by dividing pieces of wood, *manjherú*.

To turn to the cotton. Cotton with the seed, *kapás*, is taken from the plant, also *kapás*, and the seed, *banaulá*, is taken out by rollers, *lorhú*, which press it out. It then becomes *rúí*, seeded or raw cotton. Next it is beaten by artizans known as *Dhuniás*, who beat it into *gálás*, round balls, or *púnís*, long rolls for spinning. The *gálá* is made by hand and the *púní* by a straw (*sarkandá*) needle, called *pún-suláí*. The *púní* is put on to the point of the *takulá*, (which is spun round by the right hand working at the wheel) with the left hand, and the single threads thus drawn out are called *kuchí tant*, *kacha tágá* or *tár*. These single threads when twisted together form *sút*, thread, or *tágá*, yarn. Several *tágás* twisted form *dor*, cotton twine; *dors* twisted form *sutlí* or *dorí*, cotton string. *Dorís* twisted make *sút kí rassá*, cotton rope: these twisted form *sút kí rassá*, cotton hawk. A twist in a rope or thread is *bát*, and to twist is *batná* or *bántná*. Cotton spun once can be spun again, being used as *púní*, and the *nichulí* thus made is called *kukkrí*, and its threads are used for binding and tying purposes.

A good specimen of a descriptive spinning song is the following:—

- Alone and by her spinning wheel
The lady sits and winds her skein :
Her husband in dim foreign lands
Mayhap she ne'er may see again. •
Her son at market buying bread
For her is far, though near he be.
So doth the world bring lonely days :
God grant it bring them not to me !
A woman's son is woman's light,
A woman's spouse is woman's aid.
So low the lady hums her song,
" Alone I sit and wind my thread :
My son is gone, my husband far :
No children's arms around me twine ;
No friend is nigh, save thread and wheel :
Ah well ! ah well ! God's will, not mine ! "

Here are catches obviously invented to lighten the monotony of toil—

A humming goes the spinning-wheel :
 And all to pass the time !
 A whizzing, whizzing goes the reel :
 And all to pass the time !
 The spin-wheel mocks the needles' song !
 And all to pass the time !
 With supple arms we spin along,
 And all to pass the time !

And again—

Soft draws the thread by the lengthening arm.
 Softly be it drawn !
 White is the skein from the spinning-wheel's charm.
 Softly be it drawn !
 You have taken the reel and spin away :
 Softly be it drawn !
 But the child's hair is not plaited to-day.
 Softly be it drawn !
 No neighbour's been near me, nor man, nor maid :
 Softly be it drawn !
 So how can I say, where the child has strayed ?
 Softly be it drawn !

The next explains, in no measured terms, the sturdy independence with which a Jātnī of the Panjab regards her position in life. Panjābī peasant womanhood is, as I have before explained,* by no means so downtrodden by its natural lords and masters as one would at first sight suppose.

All day long my skeins I make :
 Nor kisses give, nor kisses take !
 Why should I for another weep,
 Nor in my heart my secrets keep ?
 All day long my skeins I make, &c.
 In my own house the Queen am I ;
 Shall I then for another's sigh ?
 All day long my skeins I make, &c.
 Shall I fall into another's snare ?
 Pass my life in another's lair ?
 All day long my skeins I make, &c.
 Will that other be ever true ?
 When I go hence will he go too ?
 All day long my skeins I make, &c.
 And what is marriage here below ?
 What but barter of bliss for woe ?
 All day long my skeins I make, &c.
 I do what duty may befall,
 And thus I know no fear at all.
 All day long my skeins I make, &c.

I, that bow to my God alone,
Shall I a man for master own !
All day long my skeins I make, &c.
Dust turns to dust and dust am I ?
Why should my dust for marriage sigh ?
All day long my skeins I make, &c.

In the following a too adventurous lover meets with a reception more in accordance with the rough habits of the people than with the dictates of ordinary politeness.

Girl spins.

I teach my parrot while I spin
To glad my heart.
We talk and spin till happy lips
In laughter part.

Lovellace.

Come, take my hand and stop that wheel,
And tell me why you laugh like this !
Come, laugh and talk and sing to me,
And then vouchsafe one little kiss !

Girl.

Pray, who are you to talk to me ?
I do not love your drunken race.
So just be off ! you loathsome beast !
Or else my fists will meet your face !

And here we have as pretty a love ditty of more advanced, though still young life, as one could wish to see—

The carpenter has made the wheel,
But how am I to spin ?
My love has gone from out the house
And I've no friend within !
O ! carpenter that made the wheel,
O ! come and tell me all !
O ! tell me where my love has gone,
To glad my heart withal !
I've written letters full of love,
With red eyes full of tears :
I've prayed the gods—and must I bide
The passing of the years ?

But as life advances its cure increases, its vanities become more patent, and its troubles and griefs more pressing in the mind of the peasant woman, and instead of jaunty songs of love and light ditties to while away the time when she spins and grinds, she seeks consolation in droning out philosophic verses learnt from the vast accumulation of moralities left behind by the mediæval reformers, in which Indian mythology is conspicuous by its absence. The teaching of these religious songs is simple and pure enough, and their language replete with rustic vigour, often even reaching to grandeur, but it is painful to note the mental

and moral helplessness that so constantly refers all the trouble of life to the action of a capricious, relentless and all-powerful fate. Here are songs of the ordinary type for old women :

The old wheel halts, the old yarn breaks,
And death is very near ;
The weary body waits and counts
The end that draws so near.
When I was young I never thought,
What am I thinking now ?
I am thinking now to think of God
To whom I have to go.
All the world's joys are vanity,
They know that live and see ;
So I give alms and worship God,
While strength remains to me.

And again—

'Tis all the gift this world will give,
That spin wheels not for worms to live.
Thus take the swans the sweetest pearls,*
That 'neath the waters lie.
Thus time rolls on till youth is ago
And age itself must die,
'Tis all the gift this world will give, &c.
When thou dost mourn, thy brethren weep :
When thou dost joy, they laugh,
At revel time they hover round
Thy cup of mirth to quaff.
But like the faithless swans that fly
When pearls are at an end :
So when the last of pleasure comes
Who then is found thy friend ?
'Tis all the gift this world will give, &c.
We pray to God to grant us joys—
To greet our dying breath !
We pleasure seek and pleasure comes :
But pleasure's time is death !
Tossed here and there this world about
We roam as wills our fate :
So seek not pleasures that will cloy
And joys that come too late
'Tis all the gift this world will give, &c.

Once more—

I spin the wheel, I twist the yarn—
Time flies the while I spin ;
Though naught goes with me when I go,
Yet my reward I win.
There's heaven for them that righteous live,
And, for the wicked, hell.
Their deeds' reward they know that learn
This world's chief lesson well.

* This allusion is to the fabled *hansu* of the Mánasa Sarovar Lake generally, and is specially used to on Mount Kailāsa in the Himālayas, symbolize the soul.

In case it may be thought that the sentiment and translation contained in this last verse is not true to the original, here is the vernacular verse—

*Nek haro tad surg nān jāo :
Burā haro sadā nūr nūn pāo.
Karut dā phal jāvegā sang :
Yeh jagut dā dekho rang !*

Another song of several verses refers more to the experiences of middle-aged life, while the physical forces are still strong and vigorous, but the same strain of sentiment runs throughout it, though it consists of somewhat miscellaneous moralities thrown together at haphazard.

I stood and shook the gate all night :
Never a word said she ;
But sat and spun her wheel along
And listened not to me.
In this weary world I work
And toil it with the best,
With meat and drink for all, the while
My spin-wheel knows no rest.
But the old wheel will fail at last,
When comes the failing breath.
What will the work then profit me ?
What honor me but death.
To keep my wheel, to spin it well,
Seeds of my death I've sown—
For what ? That it may break at last,
When death shall claim his own !
For this and that we live, nor see
The dark night at the end.
It comes : friends see : but will they ask ?
'What aileth thee, my friend ?'
While the wheel goes, they all are friends ;
The dearest for thy needs.
It stops : and thou art but a shade,
A memory of deeds !

But one spinning song of the moral sort that I have is conceived in terms and in a form that should give it a place even in a collection of high class poems, were it not for the rusticity of some of the words that compose it. It is best perhaps to record it here both in its original form and in the rhymed version in order to bring out its beauties the more clearly.

*Charkhe par apnā bharaśā
kyān dharen ?
Pāp ke pinjre men parkar
kyān daren ?
Aut men sab chhorkē ham chhorengē,
'Ishq men is charkhe ke
ham kyān paren ?*

Kāl hai ik chiz jis men log lete Rām Nām,

Surg ko hum chhor karke, nark men

kyān karen ?

Kasht kar aur dukh men par khotē hai sārā kāl log :

Hum is jagat nāshuk ke kārān hund dukh men

kyān karen ?

Sab mallab hain log. ham bhī mallab ban jāenge ;

Is jagat sukht ke kārne hum larte hain,

So kyān laren ?

Ham phir nahin den yehan aur sang yeh fāt nahin ;

Is sukht ko chhorke,

dukh gahen ?

Aur jharti jharti,

kyun jharen ?

Why place our faith in this unstable wheel ?

Or, caught within its toils, why terrors feel ?

Why love this wheel, for us all other leave,

We too must leave it !

That is called Time in which men God believe,

And heaven there is for all men to receive ;

Why not receive it ?

For this poor mortal world we waste our days,

Striving for joys through sore and troublous ways,

We waste our might.

All others are for self, so too are we,

Fighting for pleasures that may never be :

Why do we fight ?

The joys may come not, but the griefs are here.

And when we fly, be they so ever dear,

Our parted friends we cannot come to cheer

From our last flight !

Of precisely the same nature as the spinning songs, and for the same reasons, are the songs connected with the grinding of corn, that hard daily toil of the native peasant woman. Thus we find the girls and the young women singing to themselves love songs and catches as prettily as may be.

I turn and turn, and turn the mill

And show my budding charms,

But what's the use of showing them

And wearying my arms ?

I'll up and put the stones away ;

I have no heart to grind to-day !

I wait and wait, and wait my lord,

But duty keeps him still,

Nor hand nor arm will move to-day !

I cannot turn the mill

I'll up and put the stones away ;

I have no heart to grind to-day !

Again—

I cannot turn this mill to-day,

Though time lies heavy on my hands

My love is gone to foreign lands ;

I cannot turn the mill to-day.

da capo.

The older women, on the other hand, use all the terminology of their craft to point moral sayings, and this necessitates some account of it before quoting them.

The whole hand-mill apparatus is called *chakká*. It consists of two grind stones *pát*, called the upper and lower stones, *úpará pá*t and *níchalá pá*t. The lower one stands on three feet, *páven*. Round the lower stone is a ledge of mud, *garant*, to keep in the flour when ground. The upper stone turns on a stake or iron pin, *kilá*, fixed into the lower stone by a wooden bolt, *kot*. The stones are kept slightly apart by bits of rag wound round the stake called *indv* or *lál*. The upper stone has a large hole, *gallá*, for dropping in the grain, *dáná*, and turns on the stake through the iron ring, *kholá*, in a piece of wood, *mánt*, fixed across the *gallá*. It is turned by an upright handle, *hathá*. To grind corn is *chakká písná* or *átá písná*, and the flour when ground is called *átá*.

Such hand-mill songs, unfortunately, that have come in my way belong to the "miscellaneous moral" class, and have no particular merit in them.

The world is a mill with two stones set
To grind out griefs for men :
Round stake hole the handle spins,
The cruel stones remain.

In topmost stone the hole is set, •
In nether stone the stake :
And straight things they to crooked turn
And solid things they break.

'Tis God's, the secret ; yet will men
Strive after it and sigh.
As men have sought it, men will seek,
And, ere they find it, die.

Our parents, who are they ? or those
We call our kith and kin ?
In whom our trust that proudly live
So safe this world within ?

The parents whom men say are ours
We for our parents own :
And then, like birds, we flit away
And they once more are loose.

God gave us feet and gave us hands,
That we our souls might save :
In foolish wise we waste the gifts
Nor heed the God that gave.

And again—

The world is a wondrous secret mill :
Who work in it regret,
By toil and moil we live, the while
The secret is secret yet. •

Thus they ordained, the mighty three,
 Brahmá, Bishu and Shiv :
 The riddle set of mill and stones
 And none can answer give.

For by the mill we live, that come
 To meet our death thereby.
 By pains of life we live, and then
 By pains of death we die.

Between the two stones of the mill
 The grains are turned about,
 And broken, bruised and crushed and torn,
 Till none goes whole thereout.

Thus the world's mill, that asks no price,
 Works to the bitter end.
 While those that have not wealth we spurn
 And those that have, befriend.

Once more —

Every day we turn the mill,
 But who can tell us why
 The solid grains we throw therein
 Should out in pieces fly ?
 Men learn from doctors, and are fools
 That have no sense at all :
 For knowledge only comes when griefs
 And troubles on us fall !
 They that thought not in their youth,
 Shall they think when they are old ?
 What the use of thinking, when
 The aged blood runs cold ?

Two, however, have greater coherence and poetical merit than those above quoted—

While the mill is working well,
 Your fond friends come to grind.
 Come sickness, and in other mills
 Your friends their profit find.

The world's mill lives but in the world,
 With us it will not go.
 'Tis when the soul would wing its flight
 That its false self we know.

Within the mill, for daily bread,
 Our petty lives we fret,
 Yet, since from parting is no return,
 The parting we regret.

And yet the mill is a sorry thief,
 A cheat that all deceives,
 As coward, in the hour of need
 Its dearest friend that leaves.

So let it go its way, and trust
 The God that is your friend,
 That every moment of your life
 Is true unto the end.

And this one ends with a simile remarkable to European ears, though it is common enough in Indian moral verses :—

While it can go, it goes on to the end,
But while the mill goes, it is no one's friend :
Till worn by evil it breaks up at length,
Since evil is weakness and goodness strength.
Why weep for that which will weep not for you,
To dearest of friends which never is true ?
Rather scrape up profits that hurt no friends,
And, as the world's mill seeks, seek your own ends.
But evil ends will reap darkness of night,
And for righteous ends the guerdon is light,
So seek you Him that will be your reward :
As drunkards seek drunkenness, seek the Lord !

But yarn-spinning and corn-grinding by no means exhaust those occupations of the peasant in the midst of which they can lighten their toil by song. Indeed, all the operations in the field and many of those at home have given birth to innumerable rustic poems worthy of deep study, if not for themselves, at any rate for the habits and manners and thoughts which they illustrate. Unluckily they are very difficult to get at, and I have only succeeded in obtaining three for the present collection, one of which is sung by the young women of the Kángrá Valley while labouring in the fields and is a fair specimen of the kind of thing which amuses them.

Woman.

Ah, how will you go home to-day ?
Your wife has beaten you !
There is no strength in your poor clay,
'That's sodden through and through !
And who comes now your wife to see ?
With jealousy you mad must be,
But what are you to do ?

Man.

It can't be helped, do what I can :
Her lover is a fine strong man :
He'd beat me with his shoe !
If I went home, I should be thrashed
And into little pieces smashed ;
So what am I to do ?
What's left me but to sit and weep,
And to myself my sorrows keep,
That run me through and through ?
I love my wife ; for her I long ;
But I am weak and they are strong :
So what am I to do ?

The second song evidently arises from that curse of the Indian cultivator—a dry season. In this particular case the want of

rain has prevented the usual sowing, happily a rarer occurrence in Kángará, whence the song comes, than in many other parts of the Panjab. The song very closely illustrates the misfortunes of a Kángará peasant woman at such a time. She cannot sow because there is no rain, and the poverty of the season has driven her husband from home to seek a temporary living elsewhere. The descriptions contained in the lines, "the clouds come quickly, go quickly again," and "the cattle are dying and soon men will die" are admirably true to nature in a bad season of drought up North.

The timely rains have not fallen this year,
And fate hath kept me away from my dear :
How then can we sow the fields ?

The streams are dry, yet no signs of the rain;
The clouds come quickly, go quickly again :
How then can we sow the fields ?

Our husbands are far and no help is nigh :
The cattle are dying and soon men will die :
And then who will sow the fields ?

To turn to brighter scenes. From the same valley comes a harvest song as vigorous and joyous as any to be gathered from other lands. It is valuable, too, for its vocabulary, running as it does right through all the harvest operations.

Now that all the corn has ripened,
Now that all the corn has ripened,
Let us keep high festival :
For the corn has ripened, O !

Bring the scythe and bring the sickle,
Bring the scythe and bring the sickle,
Hie to the fields, and let us all
Reap the corn that's ripened, O !

Falls the corn before the reaper,
Falls the corn before the reaper,
Row on row in bundles neat
Lies the corn that's ripened, O !

Sheaf on sheaf uplifts the farmer,
Sheaf on sheaf uplifts the farmer,
Ere falls the evening, as is meet,
When the corn has ripened, O !

On his head a bundle fastened,
On his head a bundle fastened,
Let each unto his cottage fare
With the corn that's ripened, O !

Out the grain the kine have trodden,
Out the grain the kine have trodden,
Throw it into the binns, and there
Keep the corn that's ripened, O !

Then, when cruel rains are falling,
Then, when cruel rains are falling,
We'll sit at ease, for we shall say,
'Dry is the corn that's ripened, O !'

For while idlers wait their idling,
For while idlers wait their idling,
The busy shall rejoice, while they
Eat the corn that's ripened, O !

In the above rhymed version I have endeavoured to keep up the method and the bright spirit of the original, though one could hardly hope to rival its vigour in an English rendering and the charm of the poetic use of technicalities is necessarily lost. I therefore give here the vernacular in full for the benefit of the curious in these matters. The language is very dialectic and to the uninitiated in such things almost unintelligible. However I have elsewhere * discussed the Kángará dialect at such length that it will be sufficient for those who care to study it to refer to my former article for an explanation of its peculiarities of form and grammar.

Paktyán fasalán, bo !
Paktyán fasalán, bo !
Chalk kurt lunt látye !
Rájá, paktyán fasalán, bo !
Dahit anant, bo !
Dahit anant, bo !
Sabhnán chalye katná khet !
Fasalán pakt pátyán, bo !
Kaultyán katt pátyán, bo !
Kaultyán katt pátyán, bo !
Bukhen bakhen rakhtyán han bich khet !
Fasalán pakt pátyán, bo !
Pále banknen, ji !
Pále banknen ji !
Sanjh hot ghare jo apne jánán !
Fasalán pakt pátyán, bo !
Gadtyán bankhtyán, bo !
Gadtyán bankhtyán, bo !
Sire par rakhtike ghare jo jánán !
Fasalán pakt pátyán, bo !
Gáhnín gáhntyán, bo !
Gáhnín gáhntyán, bo !
Dáne pachhri periyá páne !
Fasalán pakt pátyán, bo !
Barkhán lagntyán, bo !
Barkhán lagntyán, bo !
Ghare bich sukhe kane asán khádn !
Fasalán pakt pátyán, bo !
Hor pánghe dukhen, ji !
Hor pánghe dukhen ji !
Asán ghar apne bahi sukht pádn !
Fasalán pakt pátyán, bo !

Catches sung in the month of *Sáwan*, July-August, that peculiar season of rain and festival throughout India, naturally follow on those connected with the occupations of the people. The odd swinging festival so universally indulged in by the young during the chief rainy month has been already alluded to and needs no special comment here, except that two of the catches in the present collection have reference to it.

Sáwan has come, so, my friend, let us swing :

Let us swing with our loves, you and I.

Sáwan has come, so our loves let us bring,

To enjoy a good feast, you and I.

And a girl's catch—

My love is gone and I'll not choose

These stranger lads among.

O teach me how to bring him nigh :

'Tis hard to bide so long.

Another curious little catch much sung at this period appears to have reference to some legend of Krishna according to which he goes to Kanauj (*Kanyakubjá*), and leaves his favourite *Rádhá* and all the Gopis weeping for him. It represents their lament.

Wet *Sáwan*'s nights are ever dark,
And darkest dark they will remain
Till my bright love comes back again.

O *Sáwan*'s nights are ever dark !

My cruel love still absent lives,

Nor to my bidding answer gives,

So *Sáwan*'s nights are ever dark !

Songs and ballads having reference to places and personalities which have retained a special interest in the minds of the people are worth collecting, as, amidst all the chaff that they must inevitably contain, a few valuable grains of history may at any time be found in them. Of such a description are the songs relating to the intrigues of *Wazír Kundańá*, who seems to have been a prominent personage in the days of the *Katoch Rájá*. *Sansár Chand* of *Káńgrá* in the latter part of the last century. He seems to have carried his amours far and wide into the hills, for the ballads regarding him are numerous, and are found in the *Kyonthal* State near *Simla*, as well as in the villages about *Káńgrá*. Here is a *Kyonthalí* song about him—

O *Kundań*, thou hast ruined me,

And shame is on us twain.

Let us leave our shame in foreign lands

And then come home again ?

For who is free from little sins ?

And who is free from stain ?

Two more ballads from *Káńgrá* give voice to the lament of those who had loved him too well, and who had experienced

what always must happen in such cases: first wooing, then betrayal, and lastly desertion.

When first I sent for you,
O Kundan, you were true,
And waiting with ill grace,
My words you would not heed !
Into the yard you came,
Filling me with hot shame,
And though I signed apace,
My words you would not heed !
You came in to the hall,
Though it was not mine, and all
My fears you did deride :
My prayers you would not heed !
You came up to the roof ;
And in my own behoof,
I sat the stream beside
And signed : you would not heed !
My husband in hot wrath
Would straightway drive me forth
Were he to know : yet when
I call, you will not heed !
And now you are gone ; no more
You wait without my door,
Till my heart yearns, and then
I call : you do not heed !
Mine is the pain I know :
You are pleased to have it so.
'Tis thus with all your race ;
And you will never heed :
I pass my days alone ;
And when I make my moan
You turn away your face,
And you will never heed !

And again in a sadder strain—

A friend you came, a lover sweet,
At my poor feet to fall
And now am I dishonoured, lost
And shamed before them all.
Great Kundan, of your mercy, hear :
I cannot wait for ever, dear !
'Twas sweet, and I, fond fool, I thought,
'Twas sweet for aye to be.
And now my kith and kin and friends
Are enemies to me.
Great Kundan, of your mercy, hear
I cannot wait for ever, dear !
You come before my eyes, and lo !
All life seems fresh and bright.
You go, and brightness goes and life
Is plunged in darkest night.
Great Kundan, of your mercy, hear :
I cannot wait for ever, dear !

With this and that you put me off,
 When secretly I came.
 O say, you will not leave me now,
 To die alone in shame.
 Great Kundan, of your mercy, hear :
 I cannot wait for ever, dear !

But every libertine in the course of his career must at times meet with sharp and wholesome rebuffs, and that Wazir Kundan was no exception to the rule, the following vigorous ballad proves. Some rustic maiden tells him plainly that she knows all his arts and foresees clearly the results of listening to his blandishments and finally she calls on his master, the great Rájá Sansár Chand, to help her against his wiles.

I know you well, you council keep,
 And strike by stealth while victims sleep.
 Yet I will not give you heed.
 I know I am but a village fool
 And you were taught in a royal school.
 Yet I will not give you heed.
 By Rájá Sansár Chandá's help !
 I will never give you heed.
 May be, you'll kill, may be, you'll leave me :
 May be, you'll of my life bereave me :
 Yet I will not give you heed.

Be you bitter, or be you sweet,
 Or be your lands for nobles meet :
 I will never give you heed.
 I know the love that ruin brings :
 I know your kind that love such things :
 So I will not give you heed.
 By Rájá Sansár Chandá's help ! &c.

I know you well : of handsome race :
 I know that women praise your face,
 Yet I will not give you heed.
 I know you well : at first you are friend,
 And yet bring ruin in the end :
 So I will not give you heed.
 And you may keep and you may kill,
 And for my ruin work your will ;
 Yet I will not give you heed.
 By Rájá Sansár Chandá's help ! &c.

Another Kángará ballad refers to a locally well known story, according to which Rájá Hírá Singh, nephew of Mahárájá Ranjít Singh's minister, Rájá Dhyán Singh, and a favourite of the Mahárájá, was refused a sister in marriage by Anrudh Chand, son of Rájá Sansár Chand of Kángará, in 1839. *

O Hírá Singh Sardár,
 Why do you deceive me !
 At once are near and far,
 And nor love nor leave me !
 Thus you nor make nor mar
 My fond heart, believe me.

* See Griffin's *Punjab Chiefs*, p. 3.

You heed not : yourself shown
 Unto me that love you.
 You are happy with your own,
 As it doth behove you.
 Are they not great and known !
 Who am I to move you !

Were I to seek your feet,
 Trusting to my pleading,
 I would but mocking meet
 From proud lips unheeding.

I will kill my love outright,
 For naught else is left me :
 My weakness and your might
 Of my love bereft me.

You will not keep me near,
 Nor away will send me.
 Love's flames devour me, dear,
 Love's baleful fires rend me !
 I burn upon love's pyre :
 You will not defend me !
 Nor quench the fateful fire,
 Faithless, nor befriend me.

Among the more prominent of the Sikh leaders of the first half of the present century was Sirdár Chhatar (Chet according to the song) Singh of Atárá, and about him is a song in the form known as *launí*. Although in verse, it is so exquisitely prosaic that I have not attempted a versified rendering of it. The moral at the end, too, is most charmingly inappropriate.

Launí.

*Chet Singh Atárwálá sab se bard hi jangí hai.
 Báá liya baitha aur dge jis ke náche randí haf,
 Tahírwálá chaunrí karté aur házir hainge sab darbán,
 Sáá liye sab náche randí umda torá kartí tén.
 Chet Singh hai bard bahádur sadu dekhá nách aur rang.
 Yehí tumashá jagatká hai ; jo har loge jávegá sang.*

Chet Singh of Attárá is the greatest warrior of all,
 Sitting with his hawk in his hand, he watches a girl dancing.
 His servants fan him and all his attendants are present.
 The girl is dancing in good time with a full accompaniment.
 Chet Singh is a great warrior and is always watching dancing
 and amusements.
 This is the experience of the world. As a man does so will
 he be rewarded.

It is but natural that such prominent personages as Mahárájá Ranjit Sing and his successor on the throne of Lahore, Mahárájá Sher Sing, should have songs, in good and bad verse, sung in their honor. One I have about the former which is valuable as a word picture of the man and his surroundings, as known

to the popular imagination, but is hardly poetical enough to admit of a rhythmical rendering.

Láunt.

*Mahárájā Ranjīt Sing buithā jap kartā chaunkī par,
Sir par kagī mōī kī, aur jap mālī har men lekar.
Sabz dopattā pagri par, aur lūl choghā pahīne hai badām
Tahīwālē hāzīr sub hain ; par Kartē sē is kī lagī hai lagan.*

*Dhaukī dāhīrī aūr pag hai sir par, lātī pāejāmā tāngon pūr :
Tīnon tahīlūe bintī kartē, kuchhīnahīn un kī tarāf nazar.
Bangālē men to āp bīrdge, shāmīdne men tahīlūe hain :
Kuchh nahīn suntā bintī in kī, kar joren aur is sē kahen.*

Mahárájā Ranjit Singh sits, telling his beads, on his throne :
Crest of pearls on his head and rosary in his hand,
Green cloth over his *pagrī* and red *choghā* on his body :
His servants are all present, but his thoughts are fixed on God.
White his beard and a *pagrī* on his head ; red trousers are on
his legs.

The three servants are beseeching, but he looks not their way.
He sits himself in his summer-house, his servants under a
canopy.

He listens nothing to their beseeching, join they their hands
and beg of him.

It would also be a pity to spoil a catch about Sher Singh by any free rendering, as nothing could reach the *naïveté* of the original.

*Sher Singh Sardār, hūā hai sawār ghorā lejāttā
De chābuk kī mār khūb hai daurdātā :
Sir kulghī aur sabz dopattā, dhāl pīth par dālī :
Ab tak to yeh jawān banā hai, bāl sārē hain kālē :
Le shamsher kamar men bāndhe, gāl menmālā dālī :
Dost dekh sabhī khūsh hote, dushman darte, sālē !*

Sardār Sher Singh rides on a horse :
And gallops, beating it well with a whip.
A crest on his head, a white coat and shield on his back :
He is still a youth and his hair is all black :
He has a sword to his waist and a necklace round his neck :
All his friends are pleased and the enemy, the blackguards,
are afraid !

Another equally prosaic catch is about the well-known story of Sāhbān and Mirzā told by the ancient Panjābī tribe of the Sīyāls of Jhang. It is a love tale, in which Mirzā, Sāhbān's paramour is slain by her brothers.

*Bas, be bhātū kamliū ; mere Mirje nūn nān māro !
Mirjā merā hath tunde dā ; is dā mārānā man na dhāro !
Je Mirje nūn māran lago, tūn pahīlān main nūn koho !
Main Sātīn wal te bar pāyā ; merā dilī suhāg nā khoho !*

Enough, O mad brother, kill not my Mirja !
My Mirja has lost a hand : keep not his death in your minds !
If you must kill my Mirja, kill me first !
I obtained my bridegroom from God ; destroy not the delight
of my heart !

Dr. Leitner, in his *Sketch of the Changars*, Lahore, 1880, page 4, has given the original and literal translations of some songs of the Changars, who are an aboriginal tribe about the Central Panjab employed usually as porters and occasional servants to Baniyas and tradesmen generally. Also at pp. i-xv of his *Linguistic Fragments*, Lahore, 1882, he gives an account of a people he calls the Khurássán Magadds, who belong to a troublesome set of Asiatic vagrants that occasionally infest the Panjab and Siindh in moderately large bodies. Dr. Leitner identifies them with the Persian Gipsies known as Jatts in Persia and Kábul, Lúlís in Khokánd and Kúchis elsewhere. At p. iii. he gives a song sung by these people.

The language of these songs is fragmentary and most unintelligible without a key, and this Dr. Leitner professes to supply in his translation. It seemed to me that they admitted of the rhythmical renderings I have given them, following Dr. Leitner's translations.

Songs of the Changars.

I.

Birth Song.

A fresh young grain has come to-day
To mix with older grains :
And every drum shall beat to-day
To soothe the mother's pains :
And old and young shall all rejoice
That such a birth should be ;
For did not all the world await
The fruiting of the tree ?

II.

Marriage Song.

Bring shoes from Nárowál !
Bring nail-dye from Gujrát !
Bring hopes from Nigáh's Saint *
To gladden every heart !

III.

Love Song.

Man.

By thy charms stricken
Behold me lying !
Hast thou not loving
Words for me dying ?

* Sakhi Saryar of Nigáh.



Woman.

Can I find loving
Words for thee dying ?
By thy charms stricken,
I that am lying !

Song of the Khurassini Magadda.

The black buck bounds
And waits for me :
I would be where
He lies for me !
Where waits my net,
O weaver mine ?
And where my dish,
O blacksmith mine ?
Ye sluggards are
With names so fine !

R. C. TEMPLE.

ART. IV.—NAMES FROM A SHANDEAN POINT OF VIEW.

AS a rule, natives of India, like the late Mr. Tristram Shandy's father, have great reverence for names, in themselves and for themselves, without any etymological *arrière pensée* view to antiquarian research, or other more or less scientific-seeming nineteenth-century reason for the faith that is in them. Most of them would have thoroughly and quite as a matter of course understood and been able to enter into the spirit of the aforesaid Mr. Shandy's tribulation when a stupid nurse, unequal to the burden of a word of four syllables, and doubtless flurried withal, as all women are at a christening, mumbled, when the due time came to "name this child," an appellative which the officiating parson translated into Tristram, and incontinently labelled the baby with. That unlucky baby's male parent had, after much study and pains, come to the conclusion that the name Trismegistus was the one likeliest to further the fortunes in life of a child of his loins, for whom he ardently desired to do his best, and at any rate to start in the world with a thrice-mightiest passport to fame and fortune. The fates did not favour Mr. Shandy's aspirations. Those dread sisters are prescient and spiteful, and it may be that in the poor old gentleman's outward seemingly unselfish desire to make a name in the world for his son, they detected germs of self-satisfied vanity which it pleased them to run counter to; for spite's sake. Or, it may be that, in their prescience, they scented afar (unless promptly scotched) a new Prometheus, as ambitious, and, by virtue of the name, more successful than that other one who warred against the gods and the Mrs. Grundy of the period. The fates, like Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Grant Duff, and other superior persons, are greedy and jealous of power. They have had tenure of it for a long time, and the lust for power, it should be remembered, grows upon people, like a craving for alcohol, a tendency to twaddle, losses on the turf, or concrete love when one imagines there is but one object in the world to waste it on. However, we are not now sitting as a Court of Enquiry into this matter of objects and reasons, a century old or so now. The material fact remains that, in spite of all the senior Mr. Shandy's patient, far-seeking study and endeavour, the son of his fond hopes, the outcome of his clockwork-regulated regard for duty, was christened Tristram instead of Trismegistus, and suffered his whole life long because of his ill-starred name. The name Tristram,

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by the way, reminds one irresistibly of Malory's. "Morte D' Arthur," from which old record of the sayings and doings and traditions of Round Table Knights, it appears that Sir Launcelot's son by the Lady Elaine, King Pelles' daughter, was called Galahad "because Sir Launcelot was so named at the fountain stone; and after that the Lady of the Lake confirmed him Sir Launcelot du Lake." Devout believers in the fitness of names would probably say that the fates who preside over them understood well that Galahad could be no fitting appellation for the sinful lover of Queen Guinevere. Moreover that, although now and again, owing to extra pressure of work or other sufficient cause, these fates may possibly be caught napping, yet do they always manage, in the long run, to correct mistakes, and keep their department in proper order. *Appropos*, the woman who was baptized Marie de Corday is known to the world as Charlotte Corday. History condones, nay, even approves of her crime; but none the less refuses to recognize her as a Mary; name fit to be given only to women of a meeker, more Magdalen spirit, may we say without being misunderstood. Looking back to that dreadful witch-sabbath time in which she lived, Marie de Corday's part in the drama of death going on all around her is not an unworthy one. But in acting it she left behind her for ever the blessed name Mary. Marie Antoinette, and Marie Princesse de Lamballe were also actresses in that drama, and less worthy ones than the woman whose kind soul was full of horror at the iniquities and injustices of the reign of terror, and of self-sacrificing desire to do away with them. But they were more womanlike and ergo Mary-like. Even to this day, poor foolish, flirting, doll-fashioned Marie Antoinette has infinitely more admirers than the strong-purposed, sublimely unselfish Marie de Corday, who, because of her self-sacrifice, or rather perhaps we should say because of the manner of it, is known to us as Charlotte. The Empress Josephine's real name was Rose, and, as a name, Rose surely suited her weak, watery, vain character better than the later assumption. The somewhat mythical story of a fair Rosamund forced to drink poison by a jealous Eleanor does not, as far as probabilities are concerned, offend the popular judgment as would a similar story of a weak Eleanor compelled to do herself to death by an angry Rose.

Amongst devout Hindoos of strict conservative habits and tastes undefiled by an English education and a knowledge of the musical glasses, a notion obtains that names are more powerful than even the Gods. They believe very much more literally than George Eliot did that "the right word is a power;" believe that it is able to compel Gods and heroes and to coerce fate to its will; and the right name is with them the "right word." The popular

Hindoo poet • Tulsi Dás in his prologue to the *Rámáyana*,* writes :—"The name is greater than either Brahm or Ráma, and is the best gift of the best giver." * * * * The virtue of the name is infinite and transcends the Supreme ; and in my judgment is greater than Ráma himself." * * * * The form is of less importance than the name ; for without the name you cannot come to a knowledge of the form ; if the very form be in your hand, still without knowing the name, it is not recognized ; but meditate on the name without seeing the form, and your soul is filled with devotion. * * * * "Those who would understand mysteries, by repeating this name understand them ; the religious, who repeat this name absorbed in contemplation, become workers of miracles, and acquire the power of rendering themselves invisible and the like ; those who repeat it when burdened with affliction are freed from their troubles and become happy." * * * * "In these evil days neither good deeds, nor piety, nor spiritual wisdom is of any avail, but only the name of Ráma." * * * * "The name of Ráma is as the tree of Paradise, the centre of all that is good in the world ; and whoever meditates upon it, becomes (says Tulsi Dás) transformed, as it were, from a vile hemp stick into a sweet-smelling Tulsi plant."

When death is evidently drawing near, many Hindoos write the name Ráma with earth taken from the banks of the Ganges on the breast and forehead of the dying person, and hold that, because of the virtues inherent in such a phylactery, these persons after death escape being dragged before the Judge Yama and proceed straight to heaven.

There is a popular legend which tells how the minor gods were once disputing amongst themselves as to which should be accounted first. By way of putting an end to a quarrel that threatened to become serious and to interfere with due enjoyment of the mid-day sleep, which is as essential to Indian gods as to Indigo Planters and other mofussilites, Brahma, taking a hint apparently from the Caucus race in "Alice in Wonderland," proposed that the disputants should race round the world, the winner of the race thereafter to be acknowledged as head of the hierarchy. The gods jumped at the notion, and forthwith started, each one on the animal that took his sporting fancy. Ganesh chose a rat, and was very soon distanced and quite out of the betting. But most opportunely, the sage Narad appeared to him and suggested that he should write the name Ráma in the dust and, pacing round that, win the stakes, since in that name all creation is virtually included. Ganesh acted on the proffered advice—and won.

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. No. 1.—1876. The Prologue to the *Rámáyana* of Tulsi Dás. • Specimen translation, by F. S. Growse, M.A., B.C.S.

Menu suggests that the names of women should be agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels resembling words of benediction.

In the matter of names, Indian Mahomedans, although not so enthusiastic and childlike in faith as Tulsî Dâs, yet have their superstitions and fondnesses as well as Hindoos. The Emperor Akbar, a man far in advance of his day and generation as to culture and intelligence, used to spend no inconsiderable portion of the time at his own proper disposal in casting the nativities of his numerous children, grandchildren, and descendants of sorts, and busying himself with what he deemed the very important task of finding fortunate names for them. About his time the trick of giving Princesses of the blood Royal masculine names, and of dubbing them Nawab so and so, seems to have commenced. Amongst Mahomedans, the tutelary saint especially venerated by the family is often made godfather, so to speak, to a child named after him. Sometimes astrologers are consulted by well-to-do parents as to the luckiest and most fitting names to be bestowed on their offspring. Some who are in modest fashion amateur astrologists on their own behalf choose the necessary designation from amongst those which begin with the same letter which is found in the commencement or termination of the name of the planet under whose auspices the child is supposed to be born. Some, Mahomedans and Hindoos alike, adopt a name that has been used by grandfather, great grandfather, or more remote ancestor, and has to its erewhile possessor proved auspicious. A son is never called by the same name his father bears or bore. Here and there a few natives may be found who have their own notions as to a lucky and sonorous combination of vowels and consonants in the manufacture of a baby's name, and who devise high sounding combinations with them accordingly, after the manner of Plantaganet Smiths and Montmorency Browns in the old country. But these departures from customariness are in Indian society, whether Mussulman or Hindoo, very rare indeed; hardly worth while taking into account. It is very evident however that amongst the many different Indian peoples, all sorts, castes, and conditions of men and women attach great importance to nomenclature, and thoroughly believe that in the vast majority of cases the right name is a power, either for good or for evil. Some of them carry the superstition to odd extremes. If after nightfall they must needs talk about a snake, that reptile will be politely referred to as "Mamoo." When any of their prolific hierarchy of ghosts and goblins are under discussion, they are delicately paraphrased, much as in England, amongst unadulterated Chawbacons and their wives and grandmothers, fairies, if spoken of at all, are spoken of as "the little

folk" or "the good people." All over the world almost, naming, when one drifts near the supernatural, is a spell as much dreaded as it used to be in the English House of Commons before of late years some adventurous Irish members dared the dread veiled anathema, and the Speaker had to find out what really ought to happen when he named a refractory member.

We have heard it suggested that the Mahomedan conquest, the Zenana system, and the general subjection of women in India must be held to account for the habit natives of the country indulge in of never mentioning the name of a female belonging to their own family, but referring to her always and even addressing her as "Jontee ke ma," "Mea Jan ke bahin," "Gopenauth ke batee," as the case may be. We do not consider the argument a satisfactory or at all satisfying one. The names of the most closely secluded Zenana Begums and Purda-nisheens of sorts, are known far and wide in native society. The names of women in a humbler position are, as a matter of course, common property, if any member of the commonalty chooses to avail himself of his share in it. The notion of not using actual names in every-day talk when circumlocutions of language can by any stretch of ingenuity be made to do duty for them, seems to us to be based on, to be indeed entirely due to, a belief in the occult powers of those names, and a notion that they are double-edged, uncanny tools to meddle with; certainly not to be meddled with by a prudent man unless under stress of absolute necessity. Oddly enough, some people may think, North American Indians indulge in the selfsame prejudice. You can never get the red man to tell you his own name. Neither will his squaw tell you. Ask her, "Whose gun is that?"—she will reply "It belongs to him," or "It is the property of the man who has his seat there," pointing the while to her husband's customary place by the fireside. If, when old enough to have a married daughter, she is seduced into talking of that daughter's husband, she will describe him, as "the man who performs the part of son-in-law in our house,"—and so on, quite after the mode customary and fashionable in Hindustan.

"What's in a name?" "Nothing at all" will glibly reply sundry matter-of-fact people who pride themselves on a faculty for what they call common sense. Of course, they can never be brought to see that what they call common sense is really a blind, indiscriminate acceptance and adoption of common prejudices and cant, or to understand that real "sense" is uncommon; a gift of the gods denied to all but a favoured few. The "common sense" people, if you talk to them about names, are one of shying Shakespeare at your head, and when they have

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remarked that "the rose by any other name would smell as sweet," quite believe that they have settled the whole business authoritatively as well as epigrammatically. We take leave to appeal against their verdict. The olfactory nerves of men, and still more so of women, are, it is well known in medical work, and to some Municipal Commissioners in Calcutta, very dependent on imagination, association of ideas, wishes, preconceptions; are by no means infallible, and ought not by the wise to be always and implicitly trusted. *Apropos*, we have chanced upon an anecdote in an old number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* which will bear re-telling. Some thirty years ago, it seems, *The Guild of Literature and Art* was to play Lord Lytton's comedy, "Not so bad as we seem," at Devonshire House, and the Queen and a very select company were to be present. At one of the rehearsals,—the scene being laid in Will's Coffee-house, at a time when George the First was King—the gentleman personating Colonel Flint was discovered with his back to the fire, smoking a long clay pipe, after the manner fashionable amongst Bloods and Bucks in that old world time. Charles Dickens who was acting as Stage Manager, much perturbed in spirit, forthwith hurried towards the gallant Colonel and begged him to forego his amusement. But the rest of the story will best be told in the *Gentleman's* own words, "My dear H," said Mr. Dickens, "on no account attempt to smoke. The Queen detests tobacco, and would leave the box immediately."

"But there's no tobacco in the pipe," replied the Colonel.

"Oh, come!—Nonsense."

"Look here!"—and the Colonel took out of his waistcoat pocket a handful of dried herbs. "I got them in Covent Garden market this morning, on the way to rehearsal."

"Well, we smelt tobacco the moment we came within sight of the stage," said Mr. Dickens: "the pipe must be foul."

"It is quite a new pipe!"

Mark Lemon now came up, and protesting that he also had smelt tobacco, and that the pipe must have been an old one, re-burnt to look clean, the offending clay was flung aside.

Before the next rehearsal, however, another pipe, warranted new and pure, was obtained; independent of which it was placed in the fire, and kept there at white-heat long enough to purify it ten times over, even had it been one of the unclean. Again, the cloud began to unfold its volumes over "Will's Coffee-room;" and this time Sir Joseph Paxton came running from the seats in the front to the stage, declaring that the Queen so detested the smell of tobacco, that smoking must really not be attempted.

Once again the Colonel protested the innocence of his pipe, in proof of which he produced a handful of dried thyme and rose-leaves from his waistcoat pocket. In vain: Sir Joseph insisted that he had smelt tobacco!—"They all smelt it!" So this second yard of clay was sent to shivers. But the Colonel had chanced to see a "Model of the Battle of Waterloo" exhibited some years before in Leicester Square, in which the various miniature platoons of infantry, as well as the brigades of artillery, were supposed to be firing volleys, the clouds and wreaths of smoke being fragile fixtures. These capital imitations of clouds and wreaths of smoke were discovered, on very close examination, to be composed of extremely fine and thinly drawn out webs of cotton, supported on rings and long twirls of almost invisible wire, and attached at one end to the mouths and muzzles of the miniature cannon and musketry. This model for a triumph in the art of smoking a pipe in the presence of a Queen who abhorred tobacco, was now adopted by Colonel Flint, but held in reserve for the morning rehearsal of the full-dress rehearsal of the same night, when there would be a preliminary audience.

He ventured to flatter himself that all these delicate considerations and assiduities would be much applauded and complimented, both by the accomplished author and the management. Far from it. No sooner was the cloud of apparent smoke perceived to issue from the pipe than the Manager, Stage Manager and Sir Joseph Paxton hurried together to the too assiduous guardsman, begging him on no account to persist in this smoking!—this smoke—or' this (on examining the smoke) appearance of smoking. It would be most injudicious. Her Majesty would *think* she smelt tobacco, and this would be as bad as if Her Majesty really smelt it. At the same time they added collectively that they themselves *had* smelt tobacco, no matter from what source, or what cause."

The moral surely is that, with most of us, the sense of smell is, to a great extent, dependent on imagination; unscientifically prone to a fatuous trust in precedents, and very easily led away by specious appearances. To us it seems likely enough that the rose called, by some other name and so, shorn of its ancient dignities and reputation would *not* smell as sweet. There is, in short, a certain sternly enforced order and sense of fitness about even the names by which things inanimate are known, and this fitness learned lexicographers have often striven against in vain. They can no more alter or amend than a Mr. Bugg trying to make himself into a Norfolk Howard. A language builds itself up, and coheres or collapses

in places at its own fantastic will and in spite of all their endeavours to mould it in accordance with their notions of propriety. The right word is a power not to be gainsaid or upset, even by the most learned of language-mongers.

Mention of the Queen in the story quoted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* reminds us, by the way, that Her Majesty was christened Alexandrina Victoria. The Prince of Wales, when he comes to the throne, will, it is understood, drop the Albert in his name, as his mother dropped the Alexandrina, and will be styled King Edward the Seventh. The eldest son of the Prince of Wales has already elected to be known by the name of Edward instead of Albert Victor. These two latter instances of reversion to right names at any rate have not been born of mere caprice. They are intended as bids for the favour of a nation which is very Philistine at heart, and which, even in the matter of names, dislikes "furriners." *Apropos*, in changing his name as Mr. Tennyson has lately done, he has sacrificed no inconsiderable amount of his popularity. What heartburnings and discontents and disputes have been engendered in the British army by Lord Cardwell's meddlings with, and transpositions of, the old names of British regiments! Here in India, with 999 natives out of every thousand, John Company Bahadoor is to this day a real power in the land; the ghost only of a name as a matter of fact, but even so a mighty name to conjure with, and powerful enough to compel millions of people to more or less willing obedience to the yoke of a handful of aliens. The unlucky dog who gets a bad name given him is as good as hanged, proverbial philosophy teaches us. We know that if a member of Parliament "is named" that naming avails to deprive him of his privileges as a member for more or less time. If a man of any wit wants to float a bubble company, a new book, or a fresh theatrical star, his first care is to invent fortunate names for his protégés. In English commercial circles it is a man's name that is good on change; not the man himself. The first and paramount idea with the discoverer of a new continent or a new island is to name it. Magicians are fain, all the world over, to work their miracles by virtue of some name or another. In the mouth of censorious respectability what a powerful conjuration is "In the name of all that's sacred," or "In the name of all that's absurd"—"why are you doing so and so?" What crimes that would otherwise have been impossible have been committed in the name of religion, of liberty, of law; of love even! What cruelties are now-a-days practised in the name of "Sport" and of "Science"? Again, what a vast amount of cleverness and ill nature scientific people expend in quarrelling about

the names of things! What but names are Tory, Whig, Liberal, Radical, Cavalier, Roundhead, High Churchman, Low Churchman, Dissenter, Pre-Raphaelite, Wagnerite, Positivist, Agnostic, Saint? But what fruitful breeders of strifes and mischiefs manifold they have been!

Even nicknames, the unacknowledged bastard children of names have power sometimes for the aggrandisement of the person they stick to; sometimes for his undoing. As George Eliot said long ago (the quotation will bear repeating) "the right word is a power." And above all other right words, names have, we think, claim to precedence.

JNO. HOOLEY.

ART. V.—THE NEW GEORGICS.

THERE can be no question as to the interest of Mr. Henry George's doctrines. His new book * has been brought out by one of the best London Houses. His former work, after a favourable reception in America, has run into three "Library Editions" at seven and six-pence, and there is a cheap reprint at all the bookstalls. He makes triumphal entries into London, he is courted in good society, his lectures are well attended, his system is attacked by journals of all shades of opinion, he has been answered by an Oxford Don (now unhappily no more,) and is said to be occupying the leisure of a Duke who has been a Liberal Cabinet Minister.

Nor is it difficult to account for this. Mr. George's style is pleasant, on occasion even eloquent. The writer has enough culture to catch the ideas that are epidemic and to express them with a scientific air. And there is enough of truth in some of his statements to startle "the general reader," a person unaccustomed to facts and principles that lie below the immediate surface.

The new book is little more than an expansion of some of those social "Principia" submitted some time ago in the work called "*Progress and Poverty*," that has been so largely read. This professes to be "An inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth—The remedy." It is to that work, therefore, that the present remarks will be confined. Beginning with the enunciation that it is necessary to remove the reproach that misery increases *pari passu* with civilisation, the author accuses Malthus of having offered a false explanation, proceeding to declare that the alleged increase of misery is attributable to wrongful methods devised for the distribution of wealth; he claims "the solution of the problem" for two chapters in which, with especial advertence to England, he asserts that rent has been rising while wages have been falling, ever since the Plantagenet times; and quotes a "law" of Manu (which seems not much to his purpose) to the effect that fruits of the soil belong to him who at any time owns the soil, but "its flowers are white parasols and elephants mad with pride." Then comes "the true remedy," which is expressed in six underlined words:—

We must make land common property.

He next attempts to show the injustice of private property in

* Social Problems. London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884.

land. Property, he argues, arises out of labour; but land is not produced by labour; and land, therefore, ought to create ownership. "If we concede to priority of possession the undisturbed use of land, confiscating rent for the benefit of the community, we reconcile the fixity of tenure which is necessary for improvement with a full and complete recognition of the equal rights to the use of land." In treating of the application of this remedy, the author lays down that private property in land is inconsistent with the best use of land, and proposes to regard and treat all proprietors as State-lessees, assessed to pay the rent to the State, *minus* a commission of sufficient amount to recompense themselves for the care and labour required in the management of the estates. There is, however, to be no "Permanent Settlement," * the demand being increased from time to time "as society progresses and rent advances." The remainder of the book—about a fourth part—is devoted to a recommendation of this plan on grounds fiscal, political, and transcendental; and the whole concludes with a dithyramb on "the gifts of the Creator." "Nemesis," "the fiat," "the Prince of Peace," "the Bibles (*sic*), the Zend Avestas, the Vedas, the Dhammapadas, and the Korans," the solar system and the starry depths.

Necessarily, there is a good deal of this that will not go down with Englishmen. It has much of puerile inaccuracy, much of a *priori* assumption, and not a little of the hysterics of French-Revolution perorating. Will the reader bear with a brief attempt to show grounds of general dissent, at the same time that we pick out what is valuable and true, and show what portion of the programme may be thought over if not profitably adopted?

Firstly, we must note that there is no such pressing necessity for action as Mr. George asserts, because there is no truth in his assertion that misery advances *pari passu* with civilisation. It is true that Prof. Huxley has lately added his great authority to that of Mr. George, and has echoed his doctrine that the lot of a savage is preferable to that of a British workman. It is open to endless controversy whether a gypsy-life under a semi-tropical sky, where long days of idle loafing with palm-wine and cocoa-nuts are alternated with tomahawk-fights and cannibal feasts, may be more agreeable to the animal man than regular labour relieved by family-duties, and a turn at the public house or the mechanics' institute. Into such fancy questions we need not care to enter. But if increased incomes, increased knowledge, increased sobriety, decorum, and freedom from crime, be sources of elevation, then

A well-worn Indian phrase that will be generally understood.

the British workman is constantly rising, and his "misery" tends not to increase but to diminution. In proof of these assertions we need only refer to the figures given in the *Quarterly Review* for January last. Of these figures—which indeed are accessible to every one—we can only here afford a few samples. During the past thirty years, the total spending power of the British nation has about doubled, while the prices of many necessities of life have considerably decreased. The income of the poor,—that is, of the class exempt from income-tax—is larger than was the total income of the nation in 1851: in the meantime the numbers of that class have only increased 20 per cent. The number of the income-tax payers has been trebled in the same interval. The average income of each poor family, which in 1851 was £58 a year, has risen to nearly £100. Of the income-tax payers the class under £300 a year has increased 148 per cent, while "the rich" (incomes over £1,000) have only increased 76 per cent. The very rich (incomes over £10,000) are under one thousand in number, and of these the majority of incomes are not derived from land but from business. Evidently the enunciation is untenable; it is untrue that society in Great Britain is suffering from an increase of misery due to unjust distribution of wealth, the rich are not growing much richer nor the poor any poorer; on the contrary, the poor are better off than they ever were before, the numbers and wealth of the rich are increasing, but it is in a constantly diminishing ratio. At the same time, drunkenness and crime are on the decrease, as are likewise the number of paupers and the amount of the national debt.

Mr. George's next step is to enter upon an argument to show that wages are not paid out of capital, but out of labour itself. From this he concludes that labour is self-supporting, and therefore that the more labour there is the more food will be produced. According to him Malthus was in the wrong when he asserted that population had a tendency to increase more rapidly than the means of subsistence, and the best thing for the planet must be a constant increase of population. It is "the Malthusian doctrine that parries the demand for reform and shelters selfishness from question and from conscience by the interposition of an inevitable necessity." He has a notion that China and India may be cited against him as instances where society is always in danger from the tendency supposed by Malthus; but he gets over this by showing that the average per square mile of those empires is not after all so very high. But he does not seem to know that the provinces of India where the level of life is lowest, and the liability to pestilence and famine the most severe, are among

the most populous in the world ; see the figures in the margin

Belgium,	441	per sq. mile.	The people of those provinces are
England,	422	"	averse to emigration ; moreover, the
Bengal,	510	"	thinly-peopled portions that bring down
Behar,	435	"	the average are largely constituted of

river, marsh, rock, and mountain. Lastly, in the cultivated parts, the population increases at a rate of about 1 per cent. every two years. The author quotes such authorities as Burke and W. Hyndman to prove that the misery of India, such as it may be, is due to the over-taxation of a rapacious alien Government ; forgetful of the fact that about one-third of the Indian revenue is derived from his own *pet-system*, the confiscation of rent ; that of the rest a great part is paid by foreigners, by litigants, and by the consumers of excise ; while the obligatory contributions of the poor only average about seven-pence a head *per annum*. It would be hard to imagine a more complete instance of negative reply to all his theories. Here is an almost untaxed population, very numerous, very laborious, not supported by capital and (for the most part) with nationalised land : *but it is poor and non-progressive*.

He says presently (p. 93) that " so far as the limit of subsistence is concerned, London may grow to a population of a hundred or a thousand millions, for she draws for subsistence upon the whole globe. " But he admits that there is a " limit of the globe to furnish food for its inhabitants " Surely these admissions are fatal to his fundamental theory. If the globe can only furnish food for a certain number of inhabitants, and if a locality can only support an increased population by drawing for subsistence on a globe so limited, it would seem that there is a limit to profitable increase of mankind, and a point beyond which labour must cease to be self-supporting. But, says Mr. George (page 97), " the tendency to increase weakens just as the higher development of the individual becomes possible. " Is this so ? In France, where the operation of the Malthusian tendency is not relieved by emigration or free imports, the increase has had to be arrested, whether by " moral " restraint or otherwise we need not stop to ask. Are the French so much more intellectually developed than the people of Great Britain or the United States ? " The most populous countries are always the most wealthy, " we are told (page 101). Here again the state of France (as of India in the opposite way) must give us pause : France is wealthy without over-population. In India the facts are reversed. Moreover, even if the general rule be admitted, it is far more reasonable to suppose that wealth produces population, than that population produces wealth. If Mr. George be right, then the increase of labourers implies, of necessity, an increase of wealth : but would

that be the case if the labourers only produced jewellery and fireworks, or trampled up a tread mill? The case of India is enough to show that even field-labour in the greatest abundance will not add to national wealth unless supported by capital.

Mr. George then has not, as he claims to have done, "disproved the Malthusian theory." If a ship with food for a hundred persons were to take another hundred off a wreck, no amount of added labour on board would prevent the crew from having to submit to half rations. And what is true of a ship will be ultimately true, not only of an island, not only of a country without free trade and emigration, but of a planet orb'd in space.

Had Mr. George reflected on these simple facts, he would not have found himself in the position of attacking Malthus and his followers, taxing John Mill with confusion, or throwing ridicule on Adam Smith. Of course, as he says further on, capital may be regarded as "stored-up labour," and in that sense wages are paid and labour is supported out of labour, or its results. But that is by no means what he started with, nor is it of much use to his main thesis.

In the next division devoted to what he calls "the statics and dynamics of the problem," (he uses scientific terms in an unscientific way) he is on firmer ground. No longer impelled by the force of his own paradox to oppose himself to the greatest thinkers who have dealt with his subject, he does apparently show that the privileges of the landholder are often adverse to the claims of labour. This, however, is by no means peculiar to the labour bestowed upon the land. In every branch of industry there is a tendency, on the part of the capitalist, no less than on the part of the labourer, to seek a maximum of profit for a minimum of exertion. It has hitherto been held that the mechanics of the matter were capable of expression by the aid of what is called "the parallelogram of forces." Each force acting on the line of least resistance, one opposing force acts to divert the other, and a resolute ensues by virtue of which progress goes in a third line, that of the diagonal.

At bottom, the question is one of expediency, and, to some extent, one of time and place. Mr. George (p. 117) defines rent as "the price of monopoly," and elsewhere (p. 168) describes, in a pretty passage, some of the advantages which human exertion can give so as to raise that price over which, according to the first sentence, human exertion ought to have no control. Passing over this inconsistency, is it not clear that society is at times much beholden to this monopoly and to the exertions it provokes; and, if so, is society justified in "confiscating" (it is Mr. George's own word) the price for which the monopoly has

been conferred? It is surely not enough answer to this to point out (as is done in Chap. I of the 5th Book) certain unfavorable results on industry of a system of speculation and advance in land values. Each nation—so long at least as it progresses—is bound to engender the institutions that suit it best: and wherever a monopoly of the usufruct of land exists (in a progressive community), there is a strong presumption in favor of its utility. That it may come to be abused is only a common result of human infirmity which lets abuse creep into all unwatched proceedings. And it may be suspected that it is this eternal tendency—*in pejus ruere*—that makes the appearance of a man like our author so excusable and even welcome. The second chapter of this Book is on “the persistence of poverty amid advancing wealth,” and, however attractive, must be read with the allowance due to the figures cited above. We have high authority for believing that “the poor we have always with us,” and always shall have, so long as one man is bolder, abler and more energetic than ninety-nine of his neighbours. But, if it be the writer’s meaning that poverty tends to increase, while wages show a constant tendency to fall, in proportion to the increase of productive power, the statement is not merely exaggerated, it is absolutely false—of Great Britain at least. That a great rise of wages in England ensued upon the depopulation caused by the “Black Death” in the fourteenth century, is admitted by our author, and is indeed easily accounted for without the necessity of recourse to any elaborate or paradoxical explanations. But that rise was certainly not due to increased wealth and productive power in the country. It may be, as he concludes, that the possession of land “is the base of aristocracy, the foundation” (amongst other foundations) “of great fortunes, and the source” (or a source) “of power.” But it does not follow that an aristocracy, great fortunes, or power, are necessarily bad things for a progressive community.

It is for these reasons that we demur to the wholesale acceptance of the next part of Mr. George’s book in which he discusses the “inefficiency of the remedies currently advocated” and propounds his own. We doubt the existence—in anything like a pressing state—of the evil assumed, and we still more strongly doubt the efficiency of the remedy proposed by Mr. George. Our first doubt has been already justified by present statistics. To justify the second, we would crave attention to a very brief summary of facts from the past. In so doing we shall, perhaps, find some amount of reason for thanking Mr. George. He will have deserved thanks if he has roused Englishmen to inquire into abuses, even if he may not have succeeded in

showing that private ownership of land is in all times and places an absolute evil, the abolition whereof would bring in the Millennium.

He begins the exposition of his "remedy" with the laws of Nature (which he says are laws of the Creator); these, he says, give the land as the common right of all. In so saying, he advances no whit. Nature is cruel, man ought to be kind; Nature is blind, man should discriminate; Nature makes us naked, ignorant, little more moral than the beasts, man invents dress, knowledge, duty, institutions. Nature is but raw material for man to work on. Titles to land, he proceeds, are founded upon force; what force has created, force can annul. That is true, as a last resource; but, before this is done, society generally finds it best to move by suasion and observe prescription. Wiser reformers than Mr. George would credit the existing with some *raison d'être*, and weld its healthy parts to their new grafts. It is true that English titles generally go back to the Norman conquest; but why? Simply because it *was a conquest*. And the revolutionary force of the Conqueror was not used so much to create titles as to introduce a species of communism, suited indeed to the times but quite in the spirit of Mr. George. William the Norman found the estates of the Saxon thanes held on *allodial* terms, which was in fact private property. He confiscated most of those estates and substituted *feudal* tenures. In so doing he restored the land of England, so far as circumstances allowed, to the condition that land usually presents in all rude stages of social progress.

Land, as Mr. George himself constantly reminds us, is originally treated—by all but pure nomads—as tribal, or communal property, the source of all national or collective wealth; and is not then regarded as capable of private appropriation on a large scale. A *savage* of energy may form a personal stock of arms and rude ornaments, he may even get temporary or even permanent possession of a homestead and a plot of ground. But since he cannot by himself hold any more land than what he can guard, the next step is to confer on him a portion of the public land on his undertaking service to be rendered to the community; and in the possession of that portion he is then, by the community, protected and maintained. Such was the utmost development of landholding in ancient times; and if, in Eastern countries, it has usually continued so to be, that is only because Eastern societies have been behind the rest of the world in organisation. That progressive nations have allowed it to grow into private ownership—even "monopoly," if Mr. George will have it so—should suggest a connection between private ownership and progress.

That among nations who have continued to practise communistic principles of land-holding there has been little progress, is surely no reason for expecting to stimulate progress if we apply it to races who have had no experience of it for many generations. The state of things aspired to by Mr. George has characterised the history of India, Persia, and most other Asiatic Empires. The monarch might assign the State's interest in the surplus produce of an estate to a soldier, a favourite, or a farmer; but the grant, even if declaredly perpetual, was always terminable, and in practice usually did terminate, either on the death of the grantee or on that of the grantor. The ultimate fact being that there was no private property in land (of which we have a vestige in the restriction of the term "personalty" to other kinds of property in English law); beneficial holdings might, and did, subsist; but, subject to temporary alienations, the nett produce of the land was the common property of all.

It cannot be regarded as other than a symptom of a more progressive spirit in European civilisation that, while this type still prevails in Asia, it has grown into such a deviation in the West. It is not necessary to determine how far the traces of difference between communal, regal, and allodial tenures show that modification had set in among the Barbarians before they took possession of the Roman Empire. It will suffice to say that we have the authority of Sir H. S. Maine for supposing that these rights had arisen, and that ideas of a like kind had been simultaneously working in the Empire itself and acting on the Barbarians at points of contact. Thus, the tenures of the Roman world—especially that known as *emphyteusis*—had become fitted for Barbarian manipulation; and the new Europe was born, so to speak, with the allodial idea in one hand, but with the feudal idea in the other. Gradually, in those rough times, the weakness of independent proprietors drove them to seek the protection of the great territorial beneficiaries, in doing which the process would be facilitated by a survival of the old relations of clientship. Thus the allods would become more or less absorbed in what were originally service holdings, what in the East are called *jaigirs*; life-tenures assigned in consideration of service, usually military. So far, the old idea, still existing in Eastern countries, had not been much modified. The *equitable* right might devolve on the feoffee, carrying with it the right of sub-infeudation: the *legal* right remained in the State, whose head could demand service from the landholder and might resume the holding at his death. Such had been the relations of the Roman State to the landholders most closely and most constantly in contact with the Barbarians. It was on very much such terms that

land was held by the military colonists on the Danube and the Rhine; and such continued to be the nature of the feudal tenures until the benefice, in the weakness of rulers, translated itself into the hereditary fief.

The next step, of course, was for this feudal system to pass into the modern European tenures; with effect, it must be admitted, not wholly beneficial to national Finance. It will suffice for the present purpose to take a glance at this process as it went on in England. By the theory, then, of the Normans (and with some of those anomalies without which nothing seems possible in English affairs) the feudal system prevailed until the disputes about the militia precipitated the quarrel between Charles I and his landed gentry. The tenants-in-chief held of the crown, as their tenants held of them, by the condition of service. As the country settled, personal service began to be replaced by pecuniary commutation. How soon this began is not known; but, by the time of John, it had been so much established that *Magna Charta* contains a special provision upon the subject. By this the king bound himself not to levy "esnage" without the consent of the Lords in Council. But, as occasion arose, burdens of this sort were continually cast upon the land. Besides the constant demands (incidental to the system) of aids, reliefs, and knighthood-fees, a tax (or "subsidy") was often raised, amounting to as much as four shillings in the pound. Personal service, meantime, was not abolished. But all these complications were swept away by the Long Parliament, and their abolition was finally confirmed by 12 Car. II, c. 24. By this Statute all military and feudal tenures were converted into "free and common socage." This, which is the general tenure of all lands in modern England excepting those of the Church, is not to be confounded with the out-and-out ownership of the *allod*. It implies allegiance, and service of a fixed and determinate character. Accordingly the Crown was compensated and the superior right acknowledged by a Parliamentary grant, not only of the excise, but of a land-tax at the customary rate of four shillings in the pound. The yield from excise was at first exceedingly small; and, so late as 1693, the land-tax still sufficed for all the ordinary expenses of the State. But unhappily—as most tax-payers must now think—provision was made for its redemption by thirty-two yearly instalments, at the valuation of that day. Under this the land-tax has now fallen to the infinitesimal figure of about an eightieth of the whole public revenue; while it has been calculated that, if levied at a rate of assessment that would be fair on present values, it would come to as much as thirty-three millions, or say three-eighths. The incomes of the landholders

are, of course, subject to income-tax; but not being personal property, they have maintained an immunity from Probate and Legacy-duty, of which their fair share could not be much less than another five millions a year.

By the Indian modification of the old Oriental system the revenue derived from land at present amounts to about a third of the nett income of the State. This is an obvious relief to the tax-payer, while it hardly operates as a tax in itself, being more of the nature of tithes, a rent-charge under which the right to hold land always changes hands, except indeed that its incidence tends to constant diminution, from causes into which we need not here enter.

A system of finance, with such a nucleus, is not quite the same as the wholesale confiscation contemplated by Mr. George. But it seems to possess advantages over that of England, where the landholders have obtained immunity from taxation—*quod* landholders—and where the nucleus is furnished by the excise; arising, in a great measure, out of the simple luxuries of the working classes.

This retrospect will enable us to examine the part of the book that deals with the proposed cure for the alleged disease of modern society, and to extract whatever useful matter may be contained in Mr. George's remaining arguments. His central proposition, indeed, is one that can be shown to be sophistic and barren. Herbert Spencer disapproves of the monopoly of land; "had we to deal with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage, we might make short work of the matter" (*Social Statics*, p. 140, *ap.* George). But he admits the claim of present holders to be compensated. John Mill only lays down that "the claim of the landholder is altogether subordinate to the general policy of the State," and that "when private property is not expedient, it is not just." He does not propose to redress injustice by further injustice, even then. But Spencer and Mill are unwise men in the estimation of this modern sage; the land belongs to the people by the law of God, he tells us, as if he had seen the statute recorded in the Eternal Chancery: and that system is still respected "wherever extraneous influences have left intact the form of primitive social organisation." Private property "can nowhere be traced to perceptions of justice and expediency" (p. 263). The examples that are cited are those of India, Russia, the Slavonic countries subjected to Turkish rule, the mountain cantons of Switzerland, the Kabyles in Northern Africa, the Kafirs in the South, the natives of Java and the aborigines of New Zealand!

Is it necessary to point out the weakness of all this? Free sexual intercourse is the law of Nature, the marriage-tie is lax or

nonexistent wherever extraneous influences have left intact the form of primitive manners. Wedlock can nowhere be traced to justice or expediency, it is ignored in Timbuctoo and New Caledonia. This paraphrase is hardly unfair. Institutions cannot be recommended by the practice of primeval man or of his unprogressive descendants. They must be accepted as having arisen from real or supposed "principles of justice or expediency" in the course of human evolution; and must be tried by the test of practical utility and fitness for existing circumstances. It is particularly necessary to admit this when we accept the general doctrines of Darwin and Spencer, as our author generally professes to do. That the soil of a country is subject to the ultimate claims of the inhabitants is not probably anywhere denied. Least of all in England, where the landlords hold in *socage*, where by the law of *derelict* alluvion belongs to the Crown, where the mightiest territorial magnate has to undergo *expropriation* whenever his land is needed for a railway, a Thames embankment, or any public use certified by the national voice expressed in Parliament.

"The basis of the feudal system," says our author, "was the absolute ownership of the land." And yet, on the same page (268) he says that it "was a triumph of the idea of the common right to land." Leaving the reconciliation of these two statements to keener intellects, let us note in passing that, in England at least, allodial tenure preceded feudal; and the latter made an approach to Mr. George's revolution, by recognising the right of the State to exact obligation in return for enjoyment, so far "nationalising the land." A few Saxon thanes must have had influence enough to maintain their possessions, but all, it is believed, were willing enough to accept the protection of some feudal lord. The feudal tenures naturally became hereditary in those times. A system that was submitted to for six centuries by the most manly of nations, must have had some "principles of justice and expediency" on its side. As it ceased to be expedient it began to fade. Every nation has, in the long run, the institutions that suit it; every progressive nation has the institutions that it deserves and needs for progress.

A good illustration of these truths is afforded by the next chapter ("Property in land in the United States.") The writer, dealing with a subject well-known to him, enlarges upon the doctrine long ago originated by a clever Scot, the author of *Men and Manners in America*—that the almost inexhaustible wilderness of the far West has acted the part of that *ager publicus* or common domain which has been so useful in the infancy of many agricultural communities. But he does not show, what his scheme nevertheless required, that this common domain ought to

continue common, that the charm of private dominion has in North America been absent from the work of reclaiming it to human use, or that a state of things that suited a sparse population with few wants, would be best for a mighty Empire in the full tide of progress. * In a word, the author does not perceive that it is utility, and not a *priori* assumption, that must form the basis for salutary criticism of institutions. If ownership has developed itself out of official benefice or out of squatter occupancy in the course of social evolution, it is to be presumed that it did so by reason of some need. If not, the society in which this happened would have perished, or, at least, grown stagnant. Such a development may get rusty, like any other machinery, and stiffen into a condition no longer thoroughly serviceable. But it cannot be talked down in our author's peremptory way.

The inquiry in the next chapter, however, will be found more legitimate, and perhaps more fruitful. It is devoted to testing private ownership by the criterion of utility. "If no private ownership," asks Mr. George, "were acknowledged, but all land were held in such a way that the occupier or user paid the rent to the State, would not land be used and improved as well and as securely as now?" And his unhesitating answer is; "Of course it would." The supporters of the present system have only to deny this, and the *onus probandi* devolves on Mr. George. But he does not support it with sufficient strength or resource. "What is necessary for the use of land is not its private ownership but the security of improvements. It is not necessary to say to a man 'this land is yours' in order to induce him to cultivate or improve it. It is only necessary to say to him, 'whatever your labour or capital produces on this land shall be yours.'" No doubt this, in a sense, is true, or there could be no cultivation by cottier-tenants or by mortgagees. But what Mr. George must be understood to mean is, not that this is all that is needful to make a man cultivate, but all that is needful to make him work his utmost and make the most of this land. If he really means this he must believe that a tenant, whose tenancy is terminable or only usufructuary, will rise early and lie down late, put spades into the hands of his sons, and make his wife and daughters carry loads of manure to the fields, all with the same energy as a man will who knows that he can never be disturbed till he sells or dies, and that the dear acres of which he knows every clod will furnish a subsistence after his death for those that he loves. But this opinion is opposed not only by

* Nor does he propose to restore it to the Redskins, to whom by the gift of God it must belong.

theory and sentiment, not only by the observation of Arthur Young and the authority of Stuart Mill, but by the daily experience of every one who has eyes to see. At this moment one of the most popular of contemporary movements is seen in the various friendly societies for enabling working men to acquire freehold plots of land. Mr. George, as a matter of hard fact, is opposed as much by landholders of this sort as by lords and squires. It is in vain that he points to land held for higher prices or trammelled in its transfer by bad systems of conveyancing and registration. In India an estate can be sold as easily as a pound of sugar; but India is as far as most countries from agricultural improvement or "the best use of land."

Undeterred by such considerations or by any keen sense that he is building upon water, our author goes on to propose what may be best described as a "Zemindari settlement for Great Britain."

"By leaving to landowners a percentage of rent, which would probably be much less than the cost and loss involved in attempting to rent lands through State-agency, and by making use of this existing machinery, we may without jar or shock, assert the common right to land by taking rent for public uses. We already take some rent in taxation. We have only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all."

Here, as it seems, we have an extreme example of the good and evil of our author's system in combination. If the reader has followed us so far, he ought to find but little difficulty in decomposing the amalgam. The land in England is held in socage, it is liable to the land-tax,* to the laws of escheat, derelict, and expropriation, the supreme rights of the State are in reserve. On the other hand, the landholders have done some good service and are perhaps still in a position to do it. By taking "all the rent," you would destroy a natural aristocracy into which any one may enter, and entry into which has long furnished scope for the noblest and most salutary ambition. You would not only run a great risk of killing the bird that lays golden eggs, but you would act in defiance of the primal canon of taxation—overlooked in this connection by Mr. George—that the correlative of taxation is protection. It would be idle to give the name of protection to a rule which only ensured a landholder the right to be rack-rented at present values, and to bear a new turn of the screw every time that the assets were found improving. For there is to be no "Permanent Settlement" (v. p. 280).

* Little notice need be taken of the farcical "redemption" at an obsolete valuation.

Under this head he afterwards, however, quotes Adam Smith. "Smith speaks of all incomes as enjoyed under the protection of the State; and this is the ground upon which the equal taxation of all species of property is commonly insisted upon—that it is equally protected by the State." But this, he assures us is "only true of the value of land: of nothing else save of things which, like the ownership of land, are in their nature monopolies" (pp. 298-9.) He supports this sweeping and not very clear assertion by another—that "with every increase of population the value of land rises; with every decrease it falls." But that will not support him unless he could prove that ownership is not an element of the value of land. Once more we find his world standing on an unsustained tortoise.

It may be, that in a country which does not require the services of a territorial aristocracy or its maintenance as a level to attract ambition, the land could be more beneficially managed without the existence of non-cultivating landlords. It is not now our purpose to inquire if England at the present day is such a country, or is in such a state that its social corner-stone could be removed without serious injury to the social fabric. But supposing that to be the case, we are no nearer to a justification of Mr. George's system, which would equally rack-rent the cultivating occupant. Does he suppose that the farmers—if they paid rent to the State instead of to the Landlord—could afford to improve if that rent were raised to a rack-rent and again raised whenever a rise was judged feasible? He quotes Fawcett, as approving the Indian system; but omits to mention the difficulty of improving under that state of "economic perfection." It may be safely asserted that, where the State does not improve, there are in India no landlord's improvements at all. Agriculture in that country still relies almost wholly on all the rude expedients of Triptolemus.

The next part (Book IX.) is devoted to a sort of *crescendo* of eostasy on the effects of this unsustained reform; in which, nevertheless, we have found germs of truth. Recurring to our old test of expediency, we have to see what can be done, not in an ideal Republic, not, as Wordsworth sings:—

"Not in Utopia, subterranean fields,
Or some secreted island—Heaven knows where—
But in this world, which is the very world
Of all of us; the place where, in the end,
We find our happiness—or not at all."

The principal criterion to be applied to the naked and unmitigated Georgics is to be found in the 4th chapter of this book —"Of the changes that would be wrought in social organisation

and social life." For, if we cannot have the whole system without a complete disorganisation of society, it will doubtless appear to our dull, practical, English view, that the price is too much for the proffered commodity, though a transaction may be made. We have attempted to appraise at its true value the boon offered by Mr. George. Let us now see what his forecast is, and what—whether he will admit them or not—must be some of its social results.

"In the administration of justice, there would be a saving of strain." Much of the civil business of our Courts arises from disputes as to ownership of land." This is bad news for the solicitors, conveyancers, and counsel in Nisi Prius and Chancery practice. But the prognostic can only be completely verified if the system should be so introduced as to destroy all value; for so long as titles continued valuable, they would be liable to transfer and litigation. Public debts and standing armies, according to our author, are the result of landowning, and will therefore disappear. If so, here is another powerful interest threatened. Not only fraud, but honorable ambition would expire for want of food, and a general but platonic benevolence would take the place of the self-seeking motives by which men are now spurred to exertion. "Want might be banished," thinks our author, "but desire would remain.....It is not labour in itself that is repugnant to man, it is not the natural necessity for exertion which is a curse." Every one will rise to the mental stature of a Humboldt, a Franklin, a Michael Angelo, a Herbert Spencer (p. 331). The work which really enriches mankind is not that which is done to secure a living (*ibid.*) Amateur exertion, then, is to take the place of that which is at present done professionally; what a dismal outlook for the world! Lastly, politics would of course pass out of the hands of territorial magnates, persons with the greatest stake in their country's safety and the smallest possible temptation to falsehood and intrigue, and would pass entirely into the hands of adventurers.

To a certain extent, some of these things have an element of good. All but lawyers will hail practical measures for simplifying the transfer of landed titles. All would like to see the National Debt diminished, and the earnings of the poor made adequate in amount and security. Most people would like to see the Army-estimates reduced. The appearance in politics of a Canning, a Gladstone, is always welcome. But these things are being done as it is; and if Mr. George's system would bring them on with a rush, that seems an additional objection to its wholesale introduction. Change, to be beneficial, must be slow.

Book X. begins with a chapter intended to show the insufficiency of the current theory of human progress. It does nothing

of the sort, and the concluding paragraph contains the refutation of all that precedes. The life of a nation is more than analogous to the life of an individual; it is the same thing, magnified by multiplication. In either case heredity is only one element of the law of progress, and the author only scores a cheap victory by assuming that modern thought regards it as the whole. The "differences in civilisation" considered in the next chapter are partly due to surroundings, but partly also to different powers of adaptation to surroundings. The Jews, says the writer, are differentiated not by race but by religion; but surely many non-religious Jews have shown the metaphysical, musical, and money-making talents of their race. Hindus, he says, are of the same race as their European conquerors; but that is only a partial truth;* and they are immediately sprung from persons debased and demoralised by secular subjection to violent oscillations between anarchy and the most crushing despotism. The Barbarians were not superior to the Romans, because the latter were civilised, but because the former were hardy Northerners, and the latter the children of effete and servile debauchees. If race were of so little value, why should not greyhounds be taught to point, or bull-dogs to dance like poodles? "The child of ignorant parents may become a pioneer of science or a leader of thought." Yes, if his parents have inherited great capacities; but not if their ignorance be the result of inherited brutality. These reckless and one-sided statements are meant to lead up to a so-called "law of progress," which turns out to be no law at all, but only an invasion of cart and horse whereby progress is made to appear as the result of institutions, instead of the reverse.

But space fails us to go on noting the overstatements and fallacies of this acute but most unequal and, on the whole, misleading book. We may sum up by invoking all history to bear witness to the few conclusions here following, and from this testimony of Clío's there is surely no appeal:—

Some organs, in the process of evolution, assume a differentiation that raises them above others. Out of a varying combination of reason—the result of man's own experience—with instinct—the capitalised experience of ancestors—comes a varying degree of high organs in each individual, as in each nation. Out of this law and others, arises, in the course of development, a constantly increasing inequality by which levels are created which call ambition to scale them. And on these shining steps of the Giants' Staircase great men ascend, taking the eyes of contemporaries and raising the thoughts and aims of all. In Eastern countries, where there is less scope for ambition, there is less progress. There

* There is an immense non-Aryan element, as modern ethnology allows.

is no class with leisure, culture, or public spirit; men are not brought into contact with circumstances, there is no shaping power developed. Like the Moon, such a nation loses its atmosphere and its inward heat by the same ossifying process. Let us all strive, in our respective circles of action, to help our weaker brethren; but let us, at the same time, combine to avert from our dear old country the stagnation of an Asiatic community.

Mr. George draws our attention to the fact that, as the ancients were, we are. More especially does he lay stress on the common origin of the Aryan races. Accepting the challenge thus conveyed, we may reply that the communistic sort of landholding practised in ancient Aryan civilisations has not produced progress, nor mitigated poverty, to anything like the extent that the enthusiastic reformer appears to expect. But at least, as modified in modern British hands, it has greatly lightened taxation, and it has almost annihilated pauperism. On the other hand, the feudal system developing into modern landholding, has thrown most undue burdens on the general tax-payer, although it has produced social advantages of a very valuable kind, till "the grey barbarian" has got to be "lower than the Christian child." The moral, evidently, is to get rid of the evil while holding fast the good. Still let the magic of property go on turning sand into gold, still let the management of land create culture and high social levels. But let all incomes derived from land that the holder does not cultivate be liable to their fair share of fiscal demand. A rent-charge-tax, at the old rate of four shillings in the pound, together with a fair *ad valorem* rate of succession-duties, ought apparently to fall on all such sources of wealth, and would give all the benefits of Mr. George's system without any of its evils.

If any apology is needed for the space that has been devoted to his somewhat chimerical arguments, it may be sufficient to state that they are enforced in a lively and attractive manner, and are so far in harmony with the spirit of the age as to have caused a good deal of comment. Indeed, they are not unlikely to have some effect on the future course of legislation in regard to land in the British islands. Although on all sides regarded as founded on a fallacy and permeated with hasty conclusions, the system involves surely more or less of genuine matter for reflection; and* it has the more interest for Indian readers that the plan proposed has been extensively tried in the East from time immemorial. Whether it has, on the whole, worked ill or well may be a subject of controversy. What is beyond a doubt is that it has hitherto coincided with backward social relations, great political scandals and calamities, above all, with deficient land and sea commerce, and constant liability to famine.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. VI.—ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA
FROM A NATIVE POINT OF VIEW.

THAT English education has led to a great deal of intellectual and moral progress in India, is admitted on all hands. A matriculated student of an Indian University has gained more real culture than any of the fine gems who adorned the Court of Vikramaditya ever possessed. A schoolboy who has been reading English for three or four years knows what the wisest of pundits does not know, namely, that the introduction into the stomach of particular articles of diet cannot injure one's prospects in the other world, and that moral taint cannot be removed by ablutions. It is a truism that the modern schoolboy knows more than the wisest of ancients. He knows more, and is prepared to fight intellectual battles with weapons of greater precision than his fathers were possessed of. His later birth brings with it several advantages. He avails himself of the accumulated treasures of the past; and, in accordance with the law of evolution, the slowly acquired aptitudes of his ancestors, intensified in the course of transmission, are part of his intellectual inheritance. This is generally true; it is especially true in India. The instruction which an Indian schoolboy receives is not of a kind which he would have got in the ordinary course of things. He learns nearly all that schoolboys learn in the most advanced countries of Europe; and he so avails himself, not only of the treasures which his own ancestors gathered for him, but those also which the most advanced Western races have accumulated through centuries of travail. And as it is with intellectual accomplishments, so it is with moral perceptions. By reason of Western education and contact with the West, the people of India who have come under the influence of that education have a better ethical standard to go by and a more fully developed sense of duty than their ancestors had, or than they would have had if they had been left entirely to themselves to work out their own destiny. The intellectual and moral results of English education are manifest, and have been generally acknowledged. Its political results have not been equally appreciated. As a soldering influence, it has a very high value. If ever the different races which inhabit India are built up into a nation, it will be mainly by the agency of English education. Not only has a common education created common sympathies and aspirations, not only has Western culture imbued the mind with the sentiments most highly prized in the West, such as the sentiment of patriotism, but the facilities afforded to people of different parts of India for the interchange of ideas, by the use of a common

language, have been helping very largely in the creation of national unity. Newspapers written in any of the vernacular languages of India can have only a limited circulation, confined to the locality where the language is spoken. Newspapers written in the English language circulate all over India. Proceedings of public associations conducted in the English language are reported and read all over India. Books and pamphlets written in the English language are read all over India. The existence of an English press conducted by natives, the existence of English books and pamphlets written by natives, the growth of native associations, are all the result of English education in India, and they all indicate the growth of a national life which they will continue to develop more and more. These are among the political achievements of English education, and they are worth serious study.

Before one can estimate rightly the effects of education in India, it is absolutely necessary that he should rid his mind of certain preconceived ideas, certain philosophical commonplaces. Philosophers will tell you that education cannot do this, and cannot do that; that, for instance, education cannot reform a people, cannot civilize a people, and that neither education nor any other agency can interfere with that course of development which a nation runs according to certain fixed laws. These propositions I do not venture to call errors, but they are partial truths. It is perfectly true that there are certain fixed laws of social progress which operate as surely as laws of physical nature, that society does not advance by leaps and bounds, that the past must always colour and determine the future. But these are not unconditional truths, any more than physical truths are unconditional. The first law of motion is only true conditionally upon the absence of such disturbing causes as friction, resistance of air, and so forth. The laws of social progress are also true conditionally upon the absence of disturbing causes. Among these disturbing causes are contact with foreign societies, the personal character and influence of individuals, laws passed by the legislature, and so forth. And just as in the material world we cannot get a line to answer to the mathematical definition, and cannot completely get rid of disturbing forces like friction, so likewise we cannot render ourselves completely independent of disturbing causes in the political sphere. The laws of a country are the results of its wants, and their progress is itself determined by laws—by social and moral laws; but it is easy to see that after the era of legislation has commenced, the nature of the laws is determined not so much by invariable rules as by the personal character and capacity of the legislator. Who will say that the laws of England would be just the same as they are even if Bentham, Romilly and Brougham had not been born? Religions also are not made, they

grow : but who will say that the evolution of religious faith has been unaffected by Christ, Mahomet and Buddha ? Science progresses according to law, by equable steps ; but who will say that science would be what it is if Newton had not been born ? Society progresses according to fixed laws, but India would not be what it is if it had not been brought into contact with the English people. Disturbing causes sometimes accelerate progress, sometimes interfere with it.* If these observations are borne in mind, one will not altogether scout the idea, upon *a priori* grounds, of education being able to accelerate the progress of a people.

English education in India has been an accelerating cause of progress ; but the progress which results from education is of a special kind. It is confined to those who receive the education. The education of a few will not lead to the progress of the nation. While, therefore, English education has unquestionably led to very rapid and marked progress among the classes who have been educated, the progress of the rest of the people has been determined entirely by the unaided operation of natural laws, and has therefore been very slow. The men that have received the highest benefits of English education are, to all intents and purposes, Englishmen. A community composed entirely of such men would be ahead of the rest of the native community by several centuries, and would be well able to hold its own against the bulk of the European races on any intellectual or moral battle-ground. But this unequal development of the people has led to a great many anomalies. The distance that has been created between the few and the many is itself an evil. The higher classes ought to be in perfect sympathy with the lower. In this country it so happens, that though common political interests have kept up sympathy of some sort between the educated and the uneducated classes, nevertheless they do not completely understand each other's wants or appreciate each other's work. This divergence leads to disastrous results in people's homes. It very often happens—in fact it is the rule, the contrary being the exception—that a Hindu family residing in a single home consists of one or two individuals who are advanced in ideas, habits and tastes, the other members being several centuries behindhand intellectually and morally. This leads us directly to the subject of failures. English education, while it has done much, has failed to organize our homes. The presence in a single home of elements representing so many stages of civilization leads to the most lamentable consequences. It destroys the most essential requisite of a home,—peace. An Englishman can hardly realize how little the Hindu home has been effected by the English education which has spread so largely in India. • A home which is composed

entirely of uneducated people has the merit of being homogeneous, but it has the discredit also of being unrefined and morally low. A home which is composed partly of educated and partly of uneducated people is an anomaly, the precise character of which it would be difficult to describe. On the one hand, there is the highest intellectual refinement and moral elevation; on the other hand, there is a state of things very nearly approaching the primitive condition of man. The result is, want of sympathy, mutual misunderstanding and an entire absence of peace: in other words, the home is no home, but merely a residence. It is not, of course, necessary that all the people constituting a home should be intellectually on a par; and even in Europe it would be impossible for learned men to get equally learned wives. What is wanted is not equality of learning or of intellectual capacity, but community of ideas, tastes and habits. In the advanced European countries, the homes consist of people who have reached the same stage of civilization. Their civilization has been attained in the ordinary course, according to laws of natural development. The high degree of civilization which has been reached by the educated classes in this country, has been reached *per saltum*, mainly by the agency of education. Whoever has not received that education necessarily lags behind and represents, as I have said, a lower type of civilization. The only instrument of progress actually employed being education, the only way of removing the anomaly would be to bring within its reach all the members of a home and to teach them also by example. The ladies in a Hindu household occupy a very subordinate position and are very nearly on the same level as the menial servants. This arrangement is extremely comfortable to the men who rule the household, and therefore furnishes them with no incentive to introduce greater homogeneity into their homes. People who benefit by an arrangement are not likely to tamper with it. Though the ladies occupy a subordinate position and, representing the ancient order of things, indulge in practices which their civilized masters—for so they are—do not understand, nevertheless the constant indulgence in superstitious and unmeaning practices is not wholly without effect on the mind of the men. The men, in spite of their education, come to persuade themselves that though they ought to think with Mill and Huxley, they may act as their wives and sisters act. Therefore, though in consequence of intellectual advance, the old religion is not rigidly adhered to, religious practice has not changed, even among the educated people. The old social order does not exist in its entirety; nor has the portion destroyed been replaced. With respect to religion and social order, therefore, the condition of the educated classes

is one of absolute anarchy : this is one of the conspicuous failures of English education in India.

It is only in the region of the intellect that its most signal success has been achieved, but even here, I believe, some qualification is necessary. English education has not been sufficiently appreciated by the wealthy classes, and has not spread sufficiently among them. This is a singularly deplorable fact. The education of the wealthy would be productive of more general good than the education of any other class. It is the wealthy that have got leisure and the means and opportunities of doing good to the public. It is, therefore, the wealthy, above all people, who ought to be inspired with enthusiasm in the cause of education. It has been sometimes said that the Government has so long had charge of high education in this country, that it is high time the people themselves assumed charge of it, that is to say, that institutions intended to impart higher education to students should be entirely in private hands and independent of Government aid. Government does not seem to be aware of the position and condition in life of the people who have been receiving the benefits of higher education. If the wealthy classes had been receiving the education and had come to appreciate it, they could very well have been trusted to assume charge of educational institutions. But no appeal could be successfully made to them for the furtherance of a cause with which they had no reason to be in sympathy. The men who have most largely availed themselves of the benefits conferred by educational institutions and who could, therefore, be most reasonably expected to be zealous in the cause of educational progress, have mostly come from the middle and the poorer classes, and they have no capital for the purpose of setting up a system of self-government in education. We consequently find very few educational institutions, very few endowments with which the names of the wealthy are associated. Of course, I am speaking of the rule and ignoring the exceptions. There is another evil which has resulted from education being mainly confined to the poor. We have as yet no class devoted to learning for its own sake, to the prosecution of original research. Life-long devotion to any branch of learning can only be practised by men who have leisure for the purpose. Such a class need not be wealthy ; in fact the wealthy very seldom in any country are over-zealous students, but it is of the utmost importance that such a class should not be troubled with anxieties as to the source of its own subsistence. People who are in a chronic state of starvation can very seldom keep a placid temper, can very seldom be patient and disinterested workers in matters which bring no immediate return. Fellowships serve this important function that they enable

ambitious students to carry on without distraction or hindrance their favourite literary or scientific work. They give opportunities of work which may, no doubt, be thrown away, but which may also be made use of. How are we to have fellowships in this country? They are not granted by Government, but are the result of private charity. In this country, therefore, it would be idle to expect endowments such as these fellowships, so long as the wealthy classes remain unaffected by the influences of education. The evil that I am now considering, the neglect of education by the wealthy, proceeds from a deep-seated cause. Education is viewed with peculiar sentiments by the people of this country. The poorer people seem to think that education, on however small a scale, raises their status; and the wealthy seem to think that attending schools would lower their dignity. A great many poor people have made their lives miserable by receiving elementary education. They feel that they have acquired a dignity which they cannot compromise by pursuing the humble occupation of their fathers. Voluntarily eschewing the humbler occupations and compulsorily shut out from the higher walks in life, these men live miserable lives, a burden to themselves and to society. The well-to-do classes regard education solely as a means of earning a livelihood; and, as they have no livelihood to earn, they do not see the necessity of going to school. Both these ideas are radically false, and the sooner they are exploded the better. If education ought to teach one thing more clearly than another, it is the dignity of labour. No man who has received any education ought to consider himself above any kind of honest labour, if the most dignified kind of labour is not available. Nor, on the other hand, ought education to be regarded as a contrivance intended to bring in money, and especially designed for the benefit of the needy.

I come now to consider the obstacles to the progress of English Education in India. It is a very natural question to ask, how is it that in spite of all that has been done to educate the people of India in the European arts and sciences the country has contributed so little to the general progress of humanity? Why have not the educated people of India been able to do anything in the way of mechanical invention, scientific discovery and original philosophical speculation? Why has European culture affected so little the modes of life of our countrymen? And what is the net result we have to show of all the time, trouble and money that have been spent on higher English education in India? As I began by saying, there has been some degree of moral and intellectual advancement in the country. People are now worthily filling offices, the duties of which, but

for their English education, they would have been unable to discharge. But it is not enough that men should be trained in some of the trades and professions and should know just a little of nature and man. That kind of training is very cheaply got; it is not the highest education which the most intelligent ought to receive, and it would be a very poor result of the means and appliances that have been used in this country for the spread of European culture. If the people of India are worth anything, they ought not for ever to continue to be recipients of the learning of the West; they ought in their turn to be instructors of the West. It is about half a century now since higher English education was introduced into India, and to-day we can hardly point to one single Indian name which is eminent in literature, philosophy, science or art, and which is fit to be ranked with the most eminent names in Europe. That is a fact which requires explanation. It also requires to be explained how the instruction given in schools and colleges has left almost completely untouched the habits and ways of Indian life. In view of the very little progress which has been made in these directions, one is tempted to ask if the time will ever come when India, or at any rate, the educated portion of India, will rise to the intellectual, social and political level of the most advanced sections of the European people. I am not sanguine enough to think that the time will come. The causes which hinder our progress I am about to mention. Some of them are of a nature that may be overcome, and I shall refer to the means of overcoming them. There are other obstacles; however, of a permanent and insuperable character which must inevitably keep us behind the West. Sanguine expectations command more sympathy than despondent reflections, and I am afraid some of my sanguine countrymen will condemn me as unpatriotic for taking so gloomy a view of the future. I may assure all such critics that it is a genuine love of my own country which leads me to notice its disadvantages more than its advantages, and possibly to exaggerate the evils which beset us. I hope, also, I shall not be accused of trifling with my subject if I refer to circumstances of a too earthly character as standing in the way of our advancement.

Before I refer to obstacles which may be overcome, I may just as well mention those which I consider to be our standing difficulties. There is the climate. Our intellect is not wholly independent of our physique, of the food we eat, and the air we breathe. Without going the whole length with Mr. Buckle, I think I may very well say that our intellectual condition is largely determined by the physical conditions of our existence. People living in the midst of an atmosphere which is at once damp and hot, and subsisting

on food which contains the minimum of nourishment in the maximum of bulk, can never be expected to display any very high degree of intellectual activity. Even the energy of a Newton or a Bacon would be paralysed under such conditions. But these are the conditions under which we have to work. The North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, or some portions of them, are more fortunate, and I venture to think that if any part ever rises to the level of England or France, it will be the Punjab. I cannot be so sanguine about Bengal, where English education has had its greatest triumphs so far. It is doubtful if this province will ever produce men equal to the most gifted sons of Europe, but even if geniuses were produced by the score, the conditions under which they would have to work would set them off to the least possible advantage. Without physical health and vigour, no genius will have fair play. Not only so, but the climate must be bracing enough to make work agreeable, and to make long lives possible. No considerable intellectual products can be expected from people who suffer from physical languor, who find no appropriate time for work, and who must either make their exit from this world, or else lose all energy and zeal by the time they attain maturity as thinkers and scholars. The physical conditions of our life I consider to be among our insuperable difficulties which will tend, do what we will, to keep us permanently behind the West in the race of life.

It is a more agreeable task for me to have to refer to difficulties which are of a temporary nature, and which will either be removed in the ordinary course of things, or which may be removed by conscious exertion on our part. In the first place, it must be remembered, that English education has been only recently introduced into India. Half a century is very little in the history of a nation. The ideas which the West have to offer to the East have been, so to say, planted on a virgin soil. The first generation that received English education has scarcely yet passed away, and, when it received Western ideas, its mind was almost a *tabula rasa*. The first learners of any art or science are never such thorough learners and so thoroughly efficient in practice as men who for generations have studied the subject. The men who rely solely upon individual experience are not so well armed for intellectual struggles as men who have an inherited stock of what Herbert Spencer calls "organized experience." A nation which for the first time learns the art of riding, shooting or archery will never practise those arts so successfully as a nation which for generations has excelled in them. The acquisitions of one generation are the capital of the next. The slowly and painfully acquired aptitudes of one generation are the inheritance of the next. Each generation starts with greater advantages than its pre-

decessor. We have, therefore, reason to hope that, as time goes on, Western ideas will take deeper and deeper root in the country ; progress, however slow, will be sure ; and a more intelligent study of the sciences and arts will lead to results of greater importance and utility than we may now congratulate ourselves upon. We are hardly justified in expecting that the first generation of natives of India, who have been only recently instructed in the learning of the West and trained to positive habits of thought, will do as much solid and useful work as people who have had the advantage of starting with a richer inheritance, the inheritance of cultivated intellect and trained power. In the next place, it must be remembered, that the progress which has been achieved by the agency of education has been out of harmony with progress in other spheres of life. As I have said already, in addition to the progress which is taking place according to the natural laws of development, English education has been an impetus which has considerably accelerated progress in some departments of life. There has been intellectual and moral advance ; but the material condition of the people has not progressed at the same rate. To that extent, our social condition is anomalous. Where a community progresses according to natural laws, the progress of every part takes place at a uniform rate. The first stage of society is the stage in which people live by hunting. The next is the agricultural stage, the next the manufacturing or industrial stage. After the industrial stage has been reached and people have had opportunities of laying-by capital, the necessity of a liberal education begins to be felt, and attention is directed to those arts and occupations which add grace to life and bring peace and comfort to society. Political organization is settled, the speculative studies are cultivated, legislation is watched, the due working of Courts is looked after, and the fine arts are practised with increased attention. With us it has been different. We have got an elaborate system of liberal education, a scientific system of laws, a complex judicial and administrative machinery, an organized legal profession, but the bulk of the population have not advanced beyond the agricultural stage. Education has proved a more powerful and rapid agent of progress than any other agency. All classes of people are anxious to be educated and to fight their way into the honourable walks of life. Educated labourers expect to be preferred to other labourers. Hence the general run to the school. The people who ought to fitly engage themselves in some industrial occupation, are eagerly thronging the schools and colleges and cramming their minds with literature and philosophy, to the disturbance of the social economy and general detriment to the social welfare. I need not dwell upon

this topic more at length, for I have already referred to the anomaly of education being confined to the poorer classes, and not reaching the classes who ought legitimately to come under its influence, namely, the well-to-do classes. I do not for one moment want to deny the benefits of education to the poor people, especially such of them as have talents, but what I say is, that a general rush of all people, even the poorest, to the schools, and a general desertion of industrial occupations are great evils, for they lead to a great deal of social misery. But these also are evils which may be overcome. I may also lightly pass over another topic which I have already adverted to,—the arrangements of the Hindu home. The constitution of the home is to a great extent responsible for nullifying the moral influence of English education. Education is valuable in teaching us not only to think in a particular way, but also to feel in a particular way, and act in a particular way. With most people, their only sphere of action is within the home; and if a home is disorganized by want of sympathy and harmony among the persons who constitute it, or if it is weakened by the enormity of its bulk and the diversity of the interests it represents, if it is embittered by want and demoralized by the cruel treatment of women and children,—the influence which such a home will exercise on the mind of all who live in it will be of a most deleterious sort. By way of commentary on the above, I may say that cruelty may assume either an active form or the passive form of indifference, and that the want which most people complain of arises from reckless marriage and multiplication of the family. The remodelling of the home, however, is not altogether an impossibility, and the evils characteristic of Hindu home-life come under the head of removable obstacles.

I have next to refer to two kinds of influence to which educated men are subject, and both of which are calculated to lessen their zeal in the cause of learning and to paralyze their energies. We must take human nature as it is. It is all very well to talk of learning for its own sake; but martyrs are not born every day, and we cannot get disinterested devotees to learning as plentifully as we should wish. Most of us, constituted as human nature is, stand in need of some sort of incentive,—money, reputation or dignity. The educated people in India, from this point of view, are not invariably well treated. The two kinds of influence I am speaking of are, first, want of encouragement by our own countrymen, secondly, want of encouragement by the State. There is no use politely disguising the fact that the people of this country are inclined to set very little intrinsic value on education. So long as people are in school or college, and merit secures victory, there is nothing to

complain of. When the struggle of life commences, and success is determined by various other elements than intellectual or moral eminence, the spectacle that is presented is most disheartening. If the man who has proved his intellectual superiority by repeated trials is without friends and patrons, and cannot earn as much money as inferior people do who work under more favourable circumstances, his superiority counts for nothing. According to public opinion in this country the most successful men are the ablest. If, therefore, the poor people who have the largest amount of brains and have worked the hardest should neither have as much money or as much popular applause as others not so deserving, what effect is such a phenomenon likely to have on intellectual progress in general? The schoolboy when he is told that he must work if he wants to get on in life and to acquire reputation, may very well reply, "There is so-and-so, who is getting on better than anybody, and who is so much talked of, but he did nothing either in school or college." It is, of course, impossible to regulate success in life by competitive examinations, and the highest merit does not always earn the largest amount of money. But surely the absence of material prosperity may be compensated by the sentimental satisfaction which proceeds from the acquisition of fame. People in this country, however, ignore the antecedents, the merits and the work of individuals, and judge of them wholly by their powers of acquisition. The greatest fool who could not possibly solve an exercise in the rule of three, or commit to memory half a dozen names and dates, is suddenly converted into a genius if, by doing some kind of work in which he has acquired a mechanical facility, he earns a respectable amount of money. On the other hand the man who in any intellectual struggle has never known a defeat, is set down as an ignoramus and altogether as a "mistake," if his money earnings do not reach a certain figure. This unreasonable public opinion is a great drawback to the spread of culture and to the cultivation of learning for its own sake, or for the sake of reputation. Yet more chilling is the influence of the treatment which the State offers to the best educated citizens. The educated young native has been the butt of much undisguised ridicule and many a covert satire. It is imagined that the conditions under which he has to work are all very favourable to him. When we find his failure in life attributed to his own innate perverseness and dulness of intellect, the inevitable inference is that those who so judge him can find no explanation of his unsuccess in the circumstances in which he has been placed. It seems to be supposed that he has been under the best of teachers, in the best possible company, with all possible facilities for learning, with a decent

capital to enter upon the business of life, and subject to no distractions and no embarrassments save those which hard intellectual work always involves. The supposition is wholly erroneous. The hardworking Indian student is generally a person of very small means. The education that he receives appears valuable to him only as enabling him to earn an honest livelihood. He works under numerous and serious disadvantages which it is impossible here to describe in detail. He goes through the prescribed course, and if he has been distinguished as a student, expects honour and distinction in life, but is very often sorely baffled. The demoralizing effect of this failure it is easy to imagine. An energetic and adventurous spirit may, and often does, overcome many an obstacle. But there are difficulties which are appalling in their magnitude, which no strength can overcome, which far from acting as incentives to exertion, serve rather to paralyze all energies however great. It is difficulties such as these which stand in the way of many an educated man in this country. "What years has he spent, and spent all his substance too; what days of toil and evenings of patient thought he has pursued to the midnight hour. The waning lamp has been no romance to him, the fixed brow and the feverish pulse no poetry. He has toiled reckless of health and comfort; he has kindled and re-kindled the fire within him that has wasted away the strength and prime of his youth." This however, he discovers too late, is no fitting, at any rate no adequate, preparation for a career in which the thing most eagerly sought for is not literary fame, but daily bread. Therefore, when he leaves his college to enter upon the business of life, he finds his occupation gone, his game played out, his brief hour of distinction and success spent and ended upon the academical stage. Not for him the honors of office; not for him the prizes of political life. These are reserved for men with quite other qualifications than mere intellectual or moral superiority. It is not meant that no man of worth attains success in life; such a general failure would be an impossibility. What I say is, that in this country a man of education, in search for wealth and rank, is subject to a process apparently more directly opposed to what is called the principle of natural selection, than what happens in the case of educated men in a country like England. Promotion and preferments in Government service and success in the professions are largely determined by skill in arts to which plain, honest academic education is not preparatory. About fourteen or fifteen years of one's life are spent in hard intellectual work, and industry is stimulated by the hope that all this work is a preparation for the work of life, and that in proportion to the value of the work will be the amount of the reward. When one enters upon the business of life, he finds it was a vain hope he had cherished so long. In the

service of the State his past career is ignored. Whether he is a third class B. A. and passed the examination after two or three unsuccessful attempts, or whether he is no B. A. at all, or whether he distinguished himself in an examination for Honors, matters little to the authorities that make the choice. When a clerk, or a *Munsiff* or a Deputy Magistrate has to be appointed, the comparative fitness of a particular candidate is seldom considered. I use the expression "comparative fitness" advisedly. The men appointed may be qualified, but they are not invariably the best qualified of all the candidates. Considerations of policy, courtesy, or interest govern the selection. The effect of such a system is most unwholesome on the mind of the students. Owing to circumstances I have already referred to, most students look to Government service for a livelihood. The hope stimulates their exertions, and all boyish victories tend to strengthen the belief that reward is sure, for the deserving must carry the day. When they at last reach the field of action they are balked of their expectations and brought to see things carried by an overruling and lawless force. Such a state of things is unquestionably an obstacle to the zealous pursuit of learning, but it is an obstacle of the removable sort.

Before any scheme is conceived of reorganizing the system of education in this country, so as to make it more beneficial, intellectually, morally, socially and politically than it is at present, there are certain general principles which must be remembered. In the first place, it must be remembered, that education cannot create that aptitude, those instincts and habits which historical antecedents have failed to create. The function of education is not to create faculties, but to develop them ; and the most harmonious development of the faculties is obtained by especially cultivating the weakest, and not by exclusively training those powers which are already well developed. The general tendency is, however, to neglect the education of those powers whose existence is too feeble to be noticed, and to especially cultivate those faculties which are most easily and rapidly developed, and which least stand in need of cultivation. In the next place, confining our attention to intellectual education, we must remember that the two great objects of study are Nature and Man. Science is spoken of as an object of study, but such an assertion is unscientific. Science is not an object of knowledge ; it is knowledge itself. Science is knowledge of a particular sort. The knowledge must be true ; it must have been arrived at by reasoning ; it must be general ; it must be systematized. The propositions of science must not be verbal but real propositions, not analytic judgments but synthetic judgments ; and they must be true Propositions which are not materially true will not constitute

science. Then, again, propositions the truth of which is not immediately but directly perceived by observation or intuition will not constitute science; propositions of science must be the result of reasoning. Propositions of science must also be universal and not particular; science consists of a number of generalizations. Lastly, the propositions must be arranged in a certain order. Science, therefore, is a body of reasoned truths, universal in character. It is easy to see, then, that science is no external fact which may be properly described as the *object* of knowledge, but it is knowledge. As I have said already the objects of study are in the main two, Man and Nature. From a certain point of view Man may be regarded as a part of Nature, and from that point of view the one great object of knowledge is Nature in its two-fold form of Matter and Mind. From either point of view the two universal and permanent objects of study are man and all that is external to man in the material world. Remembering these general principles, one must come to the conclusion, that the one subject to which above all others the attention of the people of this country ought to be devoted, is the study of the laws of the material world. The people have for generations exercised their powers of reasoning and research in the abstract sciences and those departments of knowledge which are conversant with the operations of the spirit. Emotions have already been developed by repeated exercise, and it is not for the culture of the emotions that any assistance is necessary from our instructors of the West. It is only for the education of the intellect and the regulation of character, that help is wanted. I need refer now only to those branches of intellectual education in which we stand in need of the greatest help. It is in the study of the material sciences that the greatest help is necessary; for it is in that study that the Hindu mind has been least exercised. The Hindu mind has to be trained above all things to observe concrete facts, to reason upon them, to discard *a priori* beliefs, to take nothing upon trust, to conduct patiently long and intricate researches. Science, therefore,—concrete, material science—is the knowledge most fitted to instruct the mind of the people of this country. It is not enough, however, that science should be taught, but it is necessary that with it the methods of the sciences should be taught. It is a most irrational practice to impart scientific knowledge to people who do not know the *rational* of science, and to teach logic to people who do not know how the rules they read are applied in practice. Scientific knowledge, moreover, is valuable, especially in so far as it disciplines the mind and furnishes it with an organon or weapon of research. It is for this reason that John Stuart Mill describes education in the methods of the sciences as “the crown and consummation of a liberal

education." With reference to the intellectual education of the people of this country, the first thing to be remembered is the absolute necessity of instructing them in Physical Science, not in a desultory, dilettante, schoolboyish fashion, but in an earnest, systematic, scientific manner. Equally absolute is the necessity of teaching them the methods of the sciences: in other words, a comprehensive course of logic. The dissociation of the two subjects would be unscientific, but, if it is unavoidable, I should much rather have method taught than knowledge imparted. So much for a system of national liberal education. In educating any particular group of individuals, another condition has to be borne in mind, namely, that the sciences must be taught in a particular order. All thinkers are agreed upon the fact, that the sciences stand in a certain relation to each other and may be classified upon a definite plan. Scientific education also must be conducted on a plan. It will not do, for instance, to teach physiology first, and chemistry next. This, then, is the position at which we have arrived. The most important thing we have to learn from the West is natural and physical science, and not science so much as scientific habits of thought. Having acquired these habits of thought, we shall be in a position to study the sciences of mind, morals and society more intelligently, and with greater profit than our ancestors could have done. What we want is an organon and a habit of mind. Such an organon we find in modern logic,* and such a habit of mind may be acquired by scientific education. These are principles not meant to guide the education of individuals. Each man has to determine, by a reference to various circumstances especial to himself, the style of education best suited to himself; the principles above laid down only indicate the most valuable intellectual service which it is possible for us to receive from the West, but they do not suggest any particular details of collegiate teaching.

It is more difficult to determine how it is possible to improve the moral effects of English education in India. It is extremely doubtful if particular moral conceptions or habits generated by a particular set of historical antecedents can be affected to any considerable extent by any amount of teaching. It must be admitted that our historical antecedents have been of an unfavourable character. Struggles against natural difficulties, struggles of independence against foreign aggressors, struggles against despotic power and in favour of constitutional government produce a moral tone which it would be too much to expect in the Hindu who for centuries has never known a struggle except probably with the result of being beaten. Chivalry has been no part of the historical antecedents of the people of this country; and chivalrous sentiments are therefore conspicuous by their absence. The ideal

prevails in India that strength entitles people to power, that if power exists it must be exercised, and that the only way it can be exercised is by reducing the weak to slavery. The orthodox Hindu has no sentiment of chivalry ingrained in his mental constitution, and he cannot understand the treatment which an English gentleman gives his wife. The Hindu social arrangements, the Hindu family arrangements, are all governed by one leading idea,—the subordination of women and the almost complete obliteration of their existence except for certain mechanical purposes, such as slaves may serve. It is possible for sympathetic readers of English literature to appreciate some sentiments purely Western, but practical morality is not affected on a large scale by mere reading. Be it observed, that it is not in morality generally that we have something to learn from the West; we have only to acquire those virtues which are especially associated with chivalry, and which are the result of those struggles which constitute so large a portion of the history of the European people. The next question is as to the mode of acquisition. If domestic, social and political virtues are to be acquired at all, they will not be acquired within the walls of a lecture-room, but must be learnt in practical life by contact with the English people. If, therefore, Englishmen resident in India and English teachers in particular are genuinely anxious to improve the character of the Indian people, they must not consider themselves above associating with their friends and pupils among educated Natives of India. To prevent educated Indians from mixing in English society and then to complain that they do not mend their ways of life is like complaining that bricks cannot be had without straw.

So far the duties of Englishmen and of English educational authorities in particular have been pointed out. But the people of this country have themselves some duties to perform. The whole force of public opinion has to be turned in a direction different from that in which it is now operating. Unless a very high value is set on culture and education for their own sake, the wealthy classes will not be attracted to the arduous pursuits of literature and science. They have no incentive to work for gain. An object must be set before them which they may think it worth their while to attain,—an inducement sufficiently strong to operate as a motive to exertion. One of the strongest of motives is the desire to gain applause of the public. If the wealthy classes felt that mere wealth would not command the respect of the public, and that nothing but intellectual accomplishments would secure that end, they would have a considerable incentive to intellectual work. It is scarcely necessary to point

out to what an extent the material progress of the country has been hindered by the fact of the wealthy classes not being, as a rule, advanced enough. It is commonly said by way of reproach that the young men receiving education in schools and colleges are too much dependent on Government service, and do not betake themselves to independent occupations. The charge is true. At the same time the evil is one which cannot be removed so long as the wealthy classes are determined to invest their money in landed property and Government securities alone. Industrial and commercial enterprise presupposes capital; and if the only men who have command of the capital are either ignorant of the advantages of that sort of enterprise, or have not the necessary energy for the purpose, or are unable to act with others in any form of partnership, what can our educated young men do but look to some sort of service or other for a livelihood? Many of the evils which are associated with, or result from, a lack of industrial activity are traceable to the want of energy and enterprise among the wealthy classes; and, of course, it would be a truism to say that all the evils resulting from an unintelligent use of capital are chargeable on the capitalists alone. There is only one other topic to which reference need be made in this paper, and that is the duty of the State in the matter of education. The time has not yet arrived for leaving all responsibility in the matter of national education in the hands of the nation itself; the State must support it. No elaborate arguments are necessary to establish that proposition, especially as the State is not financially a loser by carrying on its present educational system. This is not the place to discuss the details of the system and to suggest improvements, but it may be necessary to say one or two words on the duty of the State to its educated citizens. We are thankful for the education the Government gives us, and we are fully aware that we do not lay the Government under any obligation by educating ourselves. The instruction that we receive is no service done to the Government, and we have no reason to expect any remuneration for it. But if the Government is really anxious to encourage education, it must give some proofs of that anxiety; and the only proof it can give is to encourage educated men. It would be a self-contradictory and, so to speak, a suicidal policy for the Government to keep up an elaborate system of high education, and then in dispensing State patronage to make no distinction between well-educated and ill-educated persons. No royal proclamation or statute is required to inculcate or emphasize the obvious moral necessity of rewarding the deserving and of judging deserts not by any capricious but by

rational and well-defined standards. Academic distinction, it is said, is no test of practical efficiency. If that is so, and if there is no relation between success in academic life and success in the active life of the world, what is the remedy? The remedy lies in so altering the system of academic training as to make it preparatory to the due discharge of the active duties of life. There is no use perpetuating a system of education which is wholly useless for all the purposes for which we live; there is no use pretending that certain men are superior to certain others in academic life, when in real, worldly life they will be judged differently. If the only kind of efficiency which will be admired and which will command success in life is not developed by academic training, what is the good of keeping up such a system of training? Rather alter the system in which we are brought up than tell us after we have finished our education that the knowledge and skill we have acquired will be of no use in practical life, that, though we have developed a high degree of intellectual energy, it will not save us from starvation, that the best years of our life have been thrown away, and that we had been so long deluding ourselves with the belief that education bettered a man's prospects in life. High education will never make any considerable progress so long as no definite relation is established between the merits of the educated and the favours of the Government and the public. It will not do to make us devote our best energies to the acquisition of language, mathematics, philosophy and science, and then tell us, when we want bread, that intellectual accomplishments have nothing to do with earning bread. If the study of any particular subject is practically useless, let us be spared that study, and let people be given to understand that such study is purely optional; but to proclaim that intellectual capacity is to be tested by University examinations, and then to allege that such examinations are no test of practical efficiency, is hardly fair. It seems to be clear, therefore, that in admitting men into Government service, the presumption ought always to be in favor of the best educated men, though it is liable to be rebutted by their actual failure. Education will progress with rapid strides if the impression is created in the public mind that it is education alone, and the moral and intellectual qualities it develops, that will secure the highest honors in the State. Such an impression is not likely to be created if Members of Council, Judges of High Courts, statutory civilians, honorary magistrates, fellows of universities, and other such functionaries are selected more in obedience to a time-serving policy than in accordance with a rational principle.

N. N. GHOSE.

ART. VII.—THE COLONIES IN THE CALCUTTA EXHIBITION.

1. *The Calcutta International Exhibition Official Catalogue*, 1883.
2. *The New South Wales Official Catalogue of the Calcutta Exhibition*.
3. *New South Wales, its Progress and Resources*. By the Exhibition Commission.
4. *Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Victorian Court*.
5. *Handbook of Victoria*. Specially compiled for the Calcutta International Exhibition.
6. *Official Catalogue of South Australia*.
7. *Special Catalogue of Exhibits in the Tasmanian Court*.
8. *Official Handbook of Tasmania*.
9. *Official Catalogue of Exhibits sent from British Guiana*.
10. *Handbook to the Ceylon Court and Catalogue of Exhibits*.
11. *Exhibitions in General and the Calcutta International Exhibition in particular*. By J. Joubert. 1883
12. "Australia as it is." *A Lecture*, by J. Bosisto, at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, 1884.

THE list of colonial publications heading these remarks is of itself sufficient indication of the position which England's possessions abroad are assuming in the industrial annals of the present time. The Australian colonies, from their nature, position and rapid growth, have a claim for an amount of attention from Indian writers and the Indian public, never hitherto received by any other country in eastern or southern waters, and it needs but a glance at the Australian literature of the day, not always accessible, or a walk through the Australian Courts of the Calcutta Exhibition, to understand the main inducement which led an Australian gentleman to conceive the plan of the great international gathering so recently held in the City of Palaces, and the motive of those Southern Colonies in so warmly and successfully supporting the project. Endowed with nature's choicest gifts of soil and climate, the Great South Land has outstripped the sanguine hopes and anticipations of its most ardent sons. The fifth quarter of the globe, first colonised by criminals, has come to be a heritage of wealth: the earlier settlers from our jails, believed to have gone there as a scourge, lived to be a blessing in disguise; and, long before the rush to the Victorian gold fields in the year of the Great Exhibition in 1851, the story of its hidden wealth, in corn and wool

and cattle, had gone forth to the old world at home, as a new nursery tale from wonder-land.

How from small beginnings, within the memory of the present generation, first one colony, then another, passed rapidly from early infancy to sturdy manhood, endowed with rich, ripe gifts from a bountiful Providence, may be gathered by a perusal of the publications the titles of which are to be found above. Upon this, however, it is not our intention to dwell, but rather to iudicate as briefly as may be, the capabilities of those great offshoots of the parent state to supply British India with many things of which it stands in need, and, at the same time, to take from it in exchange products of daily consumption which India can give in abundance.

In the direction of manufactured articles, if we except wines, Australia has not yet done more than provide for a portion of her own requirements, but in food stuffs, properly so-classed, in the produce of the farmyard and the dairy, in those of the orchard, varied and luxuriant to an exceptional degree, in ores, in all these the supply has become so abundant, the quality so good and the cost so low, that it needs no very sanguine mind to forecast the future relations between India and the Southern Colonies. How this productive capacity has grown from year to year, from decade to decade, until thousands have swollen to millions, may be seen by the following brief summary of Australian progress taken from the introduction to Mr. Commissioner Franklin's "Progress of New South Wales":—

"During the last decennial period the population of the Australian Colonies has increased 42 per cent., commerce 47 per cent., wool production 70 per cent., acres under cultivation 120 per cent., railways 431 per cent., telegraphs 190 per cent., revenue 123 per cent. The annual revenues of the several Governments have increased from 9 millions to over 20½ millions sterling, being an average of £7. 8s. 11d. per head of population. The live stock increased from 56,900,000 to 88,665,000, and now consists of 78,156,000 sheep, 8,294,000 cattle, 1,215,000 horses, and 1,000,000 pigs, or an average of 28·83 animals to the square mile. The land under cultivation increased from 3,165,000 acres to nearly 7,000,000 acres, and the total acreage now under crop gives an average of 2·45 acres per head of population."

"The produce of this vast breadth of cultivated land may be thus summed up for the year 1881-82, as 29,675,899 bushels of wheat, 11,718,264 bushels of oats, 6,326,050 bushels of maize, and 828,228 bushels of other cereals, 364,762 tons of potatoes, 850,167 tons of hay, and 1,438,060 gallons of wine.

"In the above year the foreign trade of all the colonies amounted

to an average of £36-6-8 per cent of the population, while their public debts were at the average rate of £33-17-4d per head, against which the great Australian Commonwealth possesses as security 6,788 miles of railways in active operation, and under another, 49,119 miles of electric telegraph, in addition to public lands for disposal amounting to 1,881,536,970 acres."

A very large and profitable branch of Australian industry is sheep farming, and though it may not happen that an extensive trade with India will at an early period be created either in wools or woollen goods, these articles enter freely into the import trade with other countries than England. As with the vines of Australia, so with its flocks, frequent importations from the continent of the best varieties have led to great improvements in the quality of their stock, and there is no doubt that in the process of acclimatisation, there has been a marked improvement in the length and softness of the wool as well as an increase in the weight per animal. We may form some tolerably clear idea of the rate of increase in pastoral products, when we know that in the older colony of New South Wales in 1881, the aggregate value of shipments of wool, tallow, hides, meats and live stock was nearly nine millions sterling, or two and a half millions increase over the figures for 1871, the value of the local consumption of these, which was very considerable, being of course omitted.

The manufacture of cloths, tweeds and blankets is being steadily developed, and at the last Sydney Industrial Exhibition, first class awards were given for some of these goods. In a country where cattle breeding is carried on upon a large scale, it is not surprising that the manufacture of leather and the industries in connection therewith should provide employment for about seven thousand hands, and that the trade in these goods to other colonies should in 1882 have amounted to the value of £191,051.

The geographical position of Tasmania gives it a salubrity and coolness not to be found in the other colonies, and renders that country specially adapted for cattle and sheep breeding and it is from the magnificent farms in that most southern of the Australian colonies that the finest stud animals are provided. It is here that India will find in the future the great field of supply for cavalry horses, and here are to be met animals whose features of excellence consist in that massiveness of form and muscular development and hardiness of constitution which cannot be brought out to the same perfection in the northern climates of continental Australia. The stud sheep of Tasmania realise exceedingly high prices in the Victorian and New South Wales markets. In the "Tasmanian Hand-book" we read, that a year or two ago a famous Merino

ram—Sir Thomas 1st—was sold by auction in Melbourne for 860 guineas, and not long afterwards his son—Sir Thomas 2nd—realised 600 guineas. Last year a Tasmanian ram brought 500 guineas at the Melbourne sales, and the general stud sheep offered realised various prices from 300 guineas to 500 guineas.

Tasmania is essentially a pastoral country : its manufactures are few and not of much importance. In the colony of Victoria, however, the reverse is the case, and, as we saw in the court which contained the exhibits from that colony, there were manufactured articles shewing a high degree of excellence and admirable finish. The total number of manufactories in the country is 2,488, of which 1,146 use steam-engines, the total horse-power of which is 15,033. They employ 43,209 hands, and the approximate total value of lands, buildings, machinery and plant is £8,044,296.

Nor is New South Wales behind its younger colony in the extent and value of its manufactures, as we saw by the excellent show made of their products in the Colonial Court. We find that in the year 1881 there were, in connection with agricultural matters, 178 establishments, employing 3,371 hands ; working on raw materials the production of the pastoral interest, 331 establishments, employing 3,380 hands ; manufacture of food of which the raw material is not the produce of agriculture and of articles of drink, &c., 316 establishments, employing 2,237 hands ; building materials and plastic manufactories, 941 establishments, employing 6,689 hands ; machine manufactories, brass, lead, and iron works, 204 establishments, employing 3,142 hands ; miscellaneous works and manufactories, 1,066 establishments, employing 13,844 hands. At the close of the year 1881 there were in operation in New South Wales 166 mills for grinding and dressing grain, employing 3,025 horse-power, 403 stoves, and 703 hands. With an abundant supply of the finest wheat produced in the north, it will be readily understood that the southern colonies are able to manufacture biscuits of the most excellent quality : those sent out by the Melbourne firms are to our taste preferable to the make of the well-known firm of Huntley and Palmer, and should be specially acceptable to Indian consumers.

The two great industries, however, which we believe will form the basis of a future important trade between Australia and India are those of preserved meats and wines. Copper and tin have already assumed large proportions in the customs returns relating to Australian trade, and in the event of a more direct line of steamers being established than that to Ceylon, there can be no doubt the trade in these largely consumed metals will steadily increase. The tin of Tasmania and New South Wales

is pronounced equal to the best reaching India from the Straits, and as yet the workings of these ores in the colonies are quite in their infancy. A direct line of steamers to Calcutta would so far reduce the charges on those articles, as to enable them to compete successfully with the products of other mines, a result which there is very little doubt will be the outcome of the Calcutta Exhibition.

Possessing as they do such great facilities for the successful rearing of stock of all descriptions, it can readily be understood that the colonies of the South are able to cater for the meat supply of a large portion of the world. Great Britain has long been an excellent customer for preserved meats, and more recently of carcasses shipped in refrigerating chambers, which have generally found a profitable market. In England, however, these consignments have to compete with shipments from Canada, the United States and South America. The result is that the returns are not so remunerative as might otherwise have been the case: were shipments to be made to India, no such competition would be encountered, while, on the other hand, the shorter voyage would be in favour of the new enterprise. When we state that meat can be placed on board ship by the carcass in refrigerating chambers for as little as a penny a pound, it only remains to calculate the attendant charges of freight, ice-house, landing and selling in Calcutta, which are not likely to amount to more than a hundred per cent on first cost: this calculation would make it appear that the very finest of Australian beef and mutton may be sold here at three pence or thereabouts, and yet leave a sufficient profit to the shipper. That there will be some early prejudice against the use of Australian beef and mutton, just as there has been in England, we are quite prepared to find. We know that even domestice servants were for a long time opposed to the use of Australian beef sent home in tins, although their masters and mistresses were consuming it; and to the present time this unaccountable prejudice continues, though to a much less extent. What may be the opinion of Indian residents in regard to Australian preserved or frozen meat, has yet to be ascertained; for, beyond a few isolated cases, no trial has yet been made. The first opportunity was afforded after the juries on preserved meats in the Exhibition had completed their comparison of the various descriptions presented to them, and even these were not on a sufficient scale to determine the feeling, or rather the taste, of the public in the matter. The question, however, will be very much influenced by the matter of price, and so far as frozen meat is concerned, there is no doubt that the Australian colonies can lay down carcasses at a lower figure than that at which

local supplies can be procured, and arrangements could readily be made to supply Australian meat for the use of the troops, and in time, no doubt, the supply of families could be included in the business.

There is a matter connected with the consumption of beef in this country which is well worth the consideration of Government in its bearing on the agricultural interest: we allude to the decrease in the herds of the country by murrain and famines, which, supplemented by continued daily slaughter for the supply of our households with food, not only promises to assume very serious proportions in time, but is the means of curtailing the supply of cattle manure already at an exceptionally low ebb. The people of this country have been agitating for a cessation of slaughter of cows on religious grounds: this movement might be justified on economic grounds, inasmuch as every cow slaughtered for the table is a means of lessening future increase in herds already too much reduced in numbers by sickness and death. The cattle of an agricultural country form a very material source of its prosperity, and if our Government can be induced to regard this question of cattle supply for agricultural operations in a proper light, it will lend all the encouragement in its power to the liberal importation of butchers' meat from the Southern Colonies as the best means of economising the cattle resources of this country. A calculation of the number of animals yearly slaughtered for the supply of troops alone would, we feel convinced, show some very important figures.

We are without any data in connection with imports of preserved meats into British India, but, no doubt, they are already considerable. It is not our object, however, to look to supplanting such supplies by imports from Australia: there are nevertheless other articles drawn, to a great extent, from foreign sources, which might readily be taken from the colonies.

The following are some of the imports to which we allude, shewing what the extent of these were from all countries in 1880-81, and what proportion of the total was drawn from the Australian Colonies:—

Imports into India in 1880-81

				From all Countries,		From Australia.
Coal	...	tons	712,320	...	tons	2,948
Horses	...	No.	3,475	...	No.	1,920
Wines	...	galls.	480,953	...	galls.	2,850
Butter and Cheese	...	lbs.	669,161	...	lbs.	14,936
Copper	...	tons	4,927	...	tons	322
Soap	...	Cwts.	24,565	...	Cwts.	114
Preserved fruits and vegetables...	£		487,980	£		107

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Imports into India in 1880-81—(Continued.)

		From all Countries.	From Australia.
Wool	lbs	87,273	nil.
Tin	tons.	1,514	
Bacon and Ham	lbs	593,681	
Boots and Shoes	£	49,967	
Saddlery	£	25,375	

Australia would have no difficulty in providing all the coal, copper and tin required by India, and ten times the number of horses at present imported into the country if needed. Her means of supplying farm and dairy produce are almost boundless, for her flocks and herds are ever on the increase. We read in the official handbook for New South Wales that "All the fruits of northern and southern Europe are grown with success. The orange is cultivated most extensively, the area so planted being 6,716½ acres in 1882-3, while the fruit gathered amounted to 4,978,829 dozens. As many as 10,000 oranges have been obtained from individual trees. Oranges are largely exported to the neighbouring Colonies, and many proprietors of orangeries, who began life in a very small way, have realized a fortune. The olive, caper, fig, strawberry, raspberry, gooseberry, currant, custard-apple, guava, banana, arachis nut, almond, passion-fruit, loquat, quince, plum, nectarine, pear, apple, and peach, all thrive. Gardens and orchards covered in 1882-3 an area of 17,060½ acres. Fruit is cheap, and is consumed in large quantities by all classes. Grapes for table use covered an area of 1,150½ acres, and the quantity picked was 1,440½ tons. Fortunately phylloxera is yet unknown in this Colony."

This has reference to but one of the Southern colonies. In Victoria and Tasmania fruit is perhaps still more abundant and of exceeding size, and exceptionally fine flavor. That fruit may be largely imported into India in ice chambers as well in as in the form of preserves and jams, there is no doubt. Mr. Bosisto, in his Lecture on Australia, said: "Dealing with the question of food-supply alone, it will be seen that Australia is in a particularly good position. In the matter of cultivation, South Australia, with an area of 903,425 square miles, has 2½ millions of acres under crop; New South Wales, possessing a territory to the extent of 309,175 square miles, has 733,528 acres; while Victoria, with 87,884 square miles, has no less than 2½ millions of acres in cultivation. In respect to wheat and other cereals, we can hardly expect to supply India, herself a great grain-producing country, but such commodities as sugar, flour, and wines can be furnished to any extent." He went

on to say in regard to other industries of this colony, (and his remarks are equally applicable to New South Wales and South Australia)—“ Her manufactures are extensive, full of the latest machine improvements: her artisans do not lack either knowledge, intelligence, or industry: her merchants and commercial men will bear comparison for upright conduct, strict probity and liberal considerations in all business relations with any elsewhere. The yearly increasing magnitude of her resources, both in raw materials and manufactured goods, gives her the power to go outside and enter into the other markets. Her rise and progress during the past three ‘decades’ have been not only rapid, but her people are settled and fixed; no desire to seek ‘fresh fields or pastures new;’ the sequence follows—her industries and manufactures are firmly established, there is no desire therefore to keep her peoples’ industrial labour confined within the radius of the Australian group; for, notwithstanding the variations of the tariff of the several Colonies, and the principles which have guided each one in its separate policy, yet each is fully alive to the value and to the necessity of opening up markets in other countries for the disposal of their products and manufactures.”

In regard to one industry alone, that of leather, the colonies have made great and rapid strides: their supplies of hides are necessarily very large, and of fine quality, and they have secured the services of some of the best workmen from Europe. To an unprofessional eye the boots, shoes, portmanteaux, dressing cases, &c., shewn amongst the Australian exhibits would bear comparison with similar articles from England and were, no doubt, scarcely inferior to them in make and quite equal in material. Were proof of this needed, it would be found in the number of first class awards obtained, not merely for wines and agricultural and food products, but for a variety of manufactured articles. In the department of printing and binding a gold medal attested the excellence of the work performed by the Government printer in Sydney.

Vine cultivation and wine-making are now settled and largely encouraged industries in the Southern Colonies, one colony alone producing as much wine as India imports from all parts of the world. Nor is it in only one or two descriptions of wines that Australian vignerons have distinguished themselves, for we find in the Australian courts of the Calcutta Exhibition “wines light and dry, fruity and full-bodied, sparkling and clear, bouquets delicate and rich: there are at least over seventy exhibitors: the lists of wines in the different catalogues of the several Courts contain burgundy, claret, chasselas, hermitage, reisling, sauterne, sauvignon, hock, muscatel, mataro, Pedro Ximines, port, sherry, and last though not

the least, champagne.”* Throughout the colonies the annual production of wine cannot now be less than a million and a half gallons.

- * Recalling the fact that the wines of Australia have passed through one of the most trying ordeals possible, *viz.*, the test of competition at the wine exhibition of Bordeaux, in 1882, and that they came out with a very high enlogium on their character and quality, it cannot fail to be conceded that the vigneron of those colonies deserve the utmost credit for their efforts in wine-making. The Bordeaux judges pronounced the wines shown on that occasion far superior to those usually met with in Europe, although not equal in quality to the superior vintages of France. With a little longer experience in regard to the blending of vine products, with a little more attention to some minor details in the management of their wines during the various processes, it is thought that the wine-growers of the Southern Colonies will before long take a very high position in the markets of the world.

In the official handbook for New South Wales we are reminded that “The judges of wine at the late Sydney International Exhibition, consisting of representatives from every wine-producing country in the world, recorded a unanimous opinion to the effect that Australian wines are, on the whole, excellent in quality, and destined to enter into successful competition in the markets of Europe. One of the judges compared the Valleys of the Hunter and the Paterson with those of the Gironde and the Garonne, from which the best French wines are obtained, stating that as the climate and soil of the former are both favourable to wine production, the wines made in the Colony will every year become more like the celebrated vintages of France. The yield of wine has averaged from 100 gallons to 700 gallons per acre, though certain kinds of grapes have produced over 1,000 gallons per acre. The area of land occupied by vines in 1882 was 4,448 acres; the quantity of wine produced from 26,281 acres being 543,596 gallons, and of brandy 3,522 gallons.”

That Australia can supply good and pure wines at a low cost suitable for consumption in India, we have full proof in the excellence and cheapness of its clarets, hermitages, reislings, sauternes and hocks, the best of which are to be had of mature age at four rupees the gallon; while more ordinary kinds are obtainable at half that figure. Whether it is good policy on the part of Australian vigneron to multiply the varieties of their wines in preference to aiming at the production of a fewer number of qualities may be open to question. It does not follow that their soil

and climate are equally favourable for every description, even through the produce of special vines brought from their respective homes in France, Germany or Spain, where wine-makers confine their attention to the cultivation of vines found to be most suited to their localities. It may perhaps ultimately come to this in Australia.

Looking at these colonies as a home for retired Indian civil and military officers, the climate of the Great South Land forms an important element in our consideration, for it is not enough that the cost of living is low, and the means for educating children ample. As a matter of fact, the climate of the colonies is most favourable to human life. We have long known that in the bush the traveller could sleep out in "the open" with impunity: Mr. Bosisto, of Victoria, in the lecture he recently delivered, informs us that this is due to the presence of a plant peculiarly Australian. It belongs to the natural order Myrtaceæ, and is altogether distinct from any other tribe. This is the gum tree or eucalyptus, comprising about a hundred and fifty distinct species, and forming four-fifths of the vegetation of that island continent. Everywhere they are to be found: on hills, in open plains, in creeks, often attaining an altitude of four hundred feet. As the discoverer of the many valuable properties contained in the leaves of this tree, Mr. Bosisto is well qualified to speak of their great value:—he says: "most of the leaves of the different species are full of oil-cells visible to the naked eye. The leaves have stomata, or breathing pores on each side, and the petiole, or leaf-stalk, performs an interesting action by turning one side or the other constantly to the direct rays of the sun, or, if these are obstructed by cloud or by night, to the warm currents of air existing. Under this operation a continued leaf action of absorption and exhalation is going on. The leaves of these trees are very abundant; and in every one hundred pounds of leaves in the chief species, 60 ounces, or three imperial pints of a pure volatile oil is obtained; other kinds give less in quantity, but the average may be given at 20 ounces. Owing to this leaf action in the air, there is a daily giving off of an enormous amount of this volatile vapour throughout a large portion of Australia. The forests of Australia are full of this aromatising odour, and it is felt by every one travelling in the bush; the chemical effect of all this is, that there is set up a continued supply of ozone which leads to a healthy and vigorous atmosphere. Taking these things into consideration, it is not difficult to form the belief that Australia, as a whole, has the finest climate in the world."

It may be worth while for the colonists to pause in the wholesale destruction of these splendid timber producers, and take some steps

for the planting of young trees to replace the health-givers that are daily being removed from the face of the country, as extensive denudation might result inimically to the salubrity of these colonies. The Victorian Court of the Calcutta Exhibition contained some most interesting exhibits of medicinal preparations from this valuable tribe of trees the properties of which are now well established and recognized by medical practitioners in all parts of the world. These comprise remedial agents for both internal and external use.

Having noticed the principal articles of Australian produce suitable for an Indian trade, we may turn to those products of this country of which the Australian colonies are consumers, with a view to learn the prospects of an export trade hence to the South. We find the following as the values of Indian produce entered at the Custom House as shipped to Australian ports, in the two periods indicated below :—

	1877-8		1880-1
Gunny Bags, power-loom-made	230,772	... £	251,129
Do. hand made	8,716	... "	9,981
Jute, raw	11,698	... "	7,893
Rice	30,638	... "	44,318
Castor Oil	46,801	... "	56,763
Coffee	11,294	... "	7,047
Tea	1,942	... "	42,992

These are the articles hitherto shipped to the Australian colonies, but there should be, we are confident, a considerable demand for many other goods and wares, the produce of Upper India. The art-ware, rugs, embroidery, and even much of the ordinary matting produced in such quantity and so cheaply in the North-West Provinces, would all find a market down South, and though such merchandise might not at first come up to a large amount, it would help to build up a trade in the future that would be beneficial to both countries.

Tea is an article capable of great things in the future. The demand for it has much increased since the year of the Melbourne Exhibition, and though the results of the trade have not been quite satisfactory, it is believed that if smaller packages were resorted to, it would find more favour amongst the class of traders who could do most to extend its consumption. Surely Indian tea should find favour in preference to the low qualities shipped to Australia from the ports of China. Coffee appears to be taken chiefly from Java, but this article of produce might go down from India in far larger quantities with the aid of direct steam communication.

This question brings us to the consideration of the highly important subject which is now engaging much attention in

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the colonies down south—the great need which exists for a line of steamers to ply between the Australian ports and India without shifting cargo. It is felt that so long as goods from and to Australia have to be landed at Colombo and to be re-shipped on other vessels, with a delay of from ten to fourteen days and frequently much more, it is vain to look for any material increase in the trade between these two points. Full cargoes may not be at once forthcoming both ways, but we feel confident that, before a few years have elapsed, such a trade will assume important dimensions. That the colonists are confident of this, we may take for granted from the action of the Sydney and other communities in having already formed a Company for the purpose of opening a direct trade with India. This it is proposed to do by means of steamers to leave every month from Sydney, proceeding south *via* Melbourne and Adelaide, thence to Ceylon and Madras, where it is believed a certain amount of cargo and passengers would be obtainable, and so on to Calcutta. The return voyage would be also by way of Madras and Ceylon, but from the latter port the steamers would proceed to Singapore and Batavia *via* Torres Straits to Brisbane and Sydney. A communication has been made by the promoters of this scheme to the various Chambers of Commerce in the East, with the view of ascertaining what amount of support may be looked for in regard to shares as well as in the business to be found for such a line of steamers. It is probable that the task of floating this company will mainly devolve upon the Colonies who possess the necessary energy and capital for the purpose. In the Presidency cities of India so much capital has been invested in local undertakings, and the financial operations of the Government have caused such a stringency in the money market, that little aid can be reckoned upon in those quarters, however sanguine Calcutta merchants and planters may be as to the results of such an enterprise as the proposed company. That it will be floated and that it will prove a success, can hardly be doubted by those who know the energy which the colonists of Australia bring to bear upon every enterprise they take in hand, and how much there is of trade for future mutual development.

The intercourse of British India with the Colonies, taking its produce and providing labour for its surplus population, has grown during the last decade to important proportions. Ceylon was the first of these to employ Indian coolies in the cultivation of its plantations, though long prior to that date (1837) rice, curry stuffs and native cloths had been taken to the spicy island in quantities. The importation of rice into Ceylon has grown to about six millions of bushels, notwithstanding the

efforts of the local Government to render the colony independent of foreign food supply, by the encouragement of irrigation works, on which large sums have been expended and often with good results. The total value of Indian imports forms an important feature of the connection which has so long existed between the island and the neighbouring continent : scarcely less important from another point of view is the employment given to coolies from the Madras Presidency by the coffee, tea and cocoa planters of Ceylon, as may be seen by official documents published from time to time. Emigration, indeed, to British and foreign colonies is a means of providing many thousands of the spare populations of India with profitable employment, and of enabling them to bring back to their native land, after a lapse of years, sums of money the result of savings sufficient to enable them to settle on land as prosperous cultivators.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in reviewing the state of emigration for 1882 remarks on the great difference in the savings of returned coolies from British and Foreign Colonies. It appears from the report in question that the 1,501 who returned during the year from Demerara, brought back with them Rs. 3,54,898, which comes to an average of Rs. 236 per head. The savings of the 74 returned emigrants from Natal amounted to Rs. 8,846, which gives an average of Rs. 119. The smallest aggregate savings made in any colony were those made by the 71 coolies who returned from St. Vincent; their balance at the bankers amounted to Rs. 6,832, or Rs. 96 per man. In comparison with these figures we find the following was the state of things as regards the three French colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Reunion, from which emigrants returned to India during the year. From Martinique there came back 46 coolies, who brought with them Rs. 2,720, that is, an average of Rs. 59; from Guadeloupe there returned 169 coolies with Rs. 10,000, also an average of Rs. 59; and from Reunion 37 coolies with 1,475, an average of Rs. 39 per man. These figures show that the emigrants to Demerara had the chance of coming back to India with nearly four times the savings of emigrants to Guadeloupe or Martinique, and the emigrants to St. Vincent with nearly twice as much.

The circumstances under which emigration to Ceylon is carried on renders it somewhat difficult to ascertain the precise savings of the Tamil labourers remitted to their families or brought back with them on their persons, as the journey is so easy that many of them return to the mainland whence they went at all seasons of the year. It was ascertained, however, that during the year 1882 there were remitted

from Ceylon by Government money orders not less than Rs. 250,000, a sure and certain proof of their good employment and fair treatment in that island, where the happiest relations have always prevailed between the planters and their coolies.

If the specimens of produce in the Ceylon, Mauritius, Singapore and British Guiana Courts of the Exhibition were not of great extent or variety, the planters of those colonies have at any rate shewn much care in the selection of their exhibits, the excellence of which has been attested, by the verdict of judges in the different classes. The coffee, spices, cocoa and oils from Ceylon have obtained a larger proportion of first class certificates than have been awarded any other country or colony, in proportion to the number of their exhibits; whilst Mauritius and the Straits Settlements have fully maintained their old reputation as producing countries.

In the official handbook to the British Guiana Court, we find the following remarks on the subject of return coolies and their well earned savings: "The political economist, who sees the return ships carrying back to Calcutta the well seasoned hands with the large sums of money and jewellery, cannot but feel a pang to see this transfer of wealth and man-power from a new country with only three inhabitants to the square mile, to a country which is notoriously over populated." This feeling is natural enough on the part of the Demerara colonists, but the Indian authorities cannot fail to regard with satisfaction the investment of this returned capital and labour in the soil of India. To the island of Ceylon the emigration is entirely voluntary. Tamil coolies with their wives and children flock over unsought and unaided, certain of finding employment, and knowing well the care that is bestowed upon them in times of sickness as well as in health. A costly staff of medical attendants and well found hospitals are at their service in any emergency, and so well are they located, that many thousands of them have permanently settled in the country as cultivators of the soil on their own account in the enjoyment of a permanent prosperity.

It is clear that the exchange of labour and produce in some instances, and of labour alone in others, between India and the Colonies of Great Britain, is productive of unmixed good, and in this view the Indian authorities will act wisely in encouraging emigration to the Straits Settlements, Fiji, Perak and Queensland. In the latter colony, where the sugar industry is attaining such large proportions, the services of coolies from the Madras Presidency would be of the utmost benefit to both countries, and at the same time help to draw closer the ties which exist between the colonists of the Great South Land and the people of this country.

a consummation in which we are all deeply interested. That the southern colonies will before long form one great and powerful Federation there can be no doubt. A still more extensive and powerful Federation between the eastern and southern dependencies of Great Britain looms in the future. The day will come when England's Indian possessions, powerful in their new developments, and the Australian federation will become united as a great federal power available in any time of England's need, and together form a bulwark against the common enemies of the parent State, rejoicing in the work and proud of the duty.

JOHN CARRER.

ART. VIII.—THE PRIMITIVE PHILOSOPHY OF FIRE.

THE previous article was on fire-making as a test of race. We there attempted to show that resemblances in the modes of kindling new fire, such as were practised of old among the so-called Aryan nations, cannot be alleged in proof of ethnical relationship, but sprang out of certain fundamental instincts common to mankind at large. Our object in the present article is to apply the same line of argument to the opinions which have been held regarding the nature and functions of the element itself. We hope to be able to show, that the unanimity which has prevailed on these points among nations alleged to be Aryan is not, as some maintain, the relic of an old tradition peculiar to the first inhabitants of the Oxus, but the outcome of a primitive philosophy, in which all nations, Aryan and non-Aryan alike, have had an equal degree of share.

The main headings, under which it is proposed to describe the old philosophy of fire, are the following:—

- (1.) Fire as the soul or life of animals and plants and of the entire universe;
- (2.) As the symbol and safeguard of the collective life of tribes or states;
- (3.) As the source of health and purity to persons and things;
- (4.) As the abode and characteristic of gods and godlike men.

It must be premised, however, that in the consideration of these subjects fire cannot be dissociated from the sun, its great store house and representative unit in the upper world. The descent of fire from the sky is the burden of many of the myths by which savage and barbarous races have explained to their own minds the origin of earthly flames. The Natchez of the New World have (or had till lately) a perpetual fire, which their lawgiver, the Sun himself, brought down with him (as they believed) from his own celestial sphere.* In every form of Sun-worship fire is almost the only medium through which offerings are made, and the chief symbol to which prayers are addressed. The Vedic hymns, the most ancient extant poetry of the Hindus, expressly tell us that Agni (fire) has three separate existences,—as the sun in heaven, as lightning in the

* *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, Vol. II, p. 419: edit. 1860.

atmosphere, and as ordinary fire on the earth. In the younger Edda, the hearth-fire is called "the sun in the house"; and in most literatures the sun is spoken of as the central hearth of the world. So when men had found out the method of making fire by the concentration of the solar rays, this only verified what had long been instinctively felt, that the same fire burns in the humblest hut and in the highest sky.

I.

To us, as to the ancestors of mankind in the remotest past, religion is or aims at becoming an explanation of the universe. One of the first great problems which the fathers of speculation attempted to solve was the mystery of generation and creation; and the almost universal answer given to the question was that fire is the element which constitutes the essence of life and animates the entire fabric of nature. This doctrine, though it has become a commonplace in our own day, was a less obvious fact to primitive men; and it is the foundation of most of the other theories which have been held in connection with the philosophy of fire. In the Vedic hymns, sung by the old sages of India some 4,000 years ago, the expression of this belief is very abundant and distinct. Fire or heat under the name of Agni, (the Fire-god in its widest sense,) is said to be "the life of plants, and of all that flies, walks, stands, or moves;" (*Rig Veda*, X, 88, 4—10). In the character of the two Asvins, the twin deities of dawn, the Fire-god is said to place the germ of reproduction in all creatures (*Rig Veda*, I, 157, 5). In the character of Sūrya, the sun, he is the *ātman*, "the soul or animating principle of all things moving and stationary," (*Rig Veda*, VII, 60, 2). As Savitri, another deity of the sun, he is "the generator, the lord of vivifying power, and puts on all forms," that is, manifests himself in every kind of living form, being himself formless (*Rig Veda*, V, 81, 5). As Pūshan, a deity presiding over rain and sunshine, he is "the nourisher," the feeder of men, the fertilizer of fields, and multiplier of flocks (*Rig Veda*, VI, 58, 1). As Indra, the supreme god of the Indian sky, he is "the eye of all moving things," the lord of lightning,

* See Mair's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 206. The same kind of identification was applied to water. Thus in the Vedic hymns Varuna, "the encompasser," was originally a god of sky, and as such the regent of light and rain. Gradually he came to be especially regarded as the regent of the aerial ocean, which was believed to be a counterpart to the ocean below. In the Epic poems (*Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*), Varuna's connection with the sky has been broken off entirely, and he there figures as the god of the lower ocean, like the Greek Poseidon or the Roman Neptune.

and giver of force, energy, and victory to gods and men (*Rig Veda*, X, 102, 12). In one of the prose legends of the Vedic age, Agni, having no settled abode and being troubled where to find rest, takes refuge in the human body, and enters into a league with man to reside there as the guardian of his life in both worlds; (*Satapatha Brahmana*, II, 3, 3, 1.) *

In the creed and speculations of the ancient Persians, man was considered a microcosm, and every element in his composition was supposed to have come from a similar element in the universe, to which it was to return at the time of death, and from which it was to be again restored at the general resurrection of the dead:—"At that time men will demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, and the life from fire" In the *Vendidad*,—the oldest extant liturgy of the same people,—it was specially revealed by the supreme being (Ahura Mazda) to his great high priest and exponent (Spitama Zarathrastra) that "fire kills no man"; for it was not the fire that killed, but the will of Destiny. In the *Bundahis*, or traditional history of the creation, we are told that from the beginning there were five different kinds of fire:—"the fire which shoots up before Ahura Mazda, the lord; the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire which is in plants; the fire Vâzist, which is in a cloud and stands opposed to the demon in conflict; and the fire Spênist which they keep in use in the world." The first (as the text goes on to say,) is fire only in its purest and most spiritual state,—a fire such as is seen by men only with the eye of faith: the second (animal fire) consumes both food and water; the third (plant fire) consumes water only; the fourth (lightning) consumes neither food nor water; the fifth and last (earthly fire) consumes food (fuel) only. The business of the third fire which is called the "Good-diffuser" is said to consist "in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the body, and the brightening of the eyes." †

* These quotations are all collected from different parts of Vol. V., Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*. In this great work the author's plan is simply to analyse the contents of the Vedas and present them to the reader in a condensed and convenient form, leaving him for the most part to draw his own conclusions. I am myself therefore responsible for the interpretation given in the text, by which life-giving properties are ascribed to the various Sky-gods in virtue of their implied connection with Agni the Fire-god.

† The first quotation is from *Bundahis*, XXX, 6 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, p. 123). The second is from *Vendidad*, Fargard V. 33, (*Sacred Books*, vol. IV. p. 51). The third is from *Bundahis*, Chap. XVII, 1, (Vol. V, pp. 61-2). The fourth is from *Bundahis*, Chap. XI, 3, (Vol. V, pp. 184-5).

If fire is the element by which life is diffused through the bodily frame, the eye is the organ in which the expression of life is centered. In Japan, there is a god named Fudo, who has the reputation of giving sight to the blind; and his effigy has been described by an eye-witness as that of a "flame-surrounded idol." In Tartar legends horses of divine extraction are said to make the rocks melt like wax, by simply looking at them. In Hindu legend, Kāmadeva, the god of love, was reduced to ashes by a flash of angry fire darted from the central eye of the three-eyed Shiva. By the opening of the same eye, it is said that the world will some day be destroyed with fire. In the poetic Edda "fire gleams forth from the eyes of Brynhild, when she beholds the wounds of Sigurd," her slaughtered warrior. When the life-flame has become extinct, it is in the cold and fixed eye of the dead that the death-demon takes up his seat. The re-appearance of the dead Samuel before the affrighted Saul is thus described by an English poet:—

Earth yawned; he stood the centre of a cloud;
Light changed its hue retiring from his shroud,
Death stood all glassy in his fixed eye;
His hand was withered and his veins were dry.

Byron's Hebrew Melodies.

In the mythology of the Greeks, Prometheus, who stole fire from the sky, was sometimes regarded not merely as the benefactor but also as the creator of mankind. As such he is said to have moulded figures of clay after his own image, and then to have put into them the spark of life, which became hereditary in their offspring. The ancient physiology, both in Greece and Rome, was summed up in the saying, *corpus est terra, anima est ignis*. In the legends of ancient Rome it was said that Servius Tullius, one of the seven kings, had no earthly father, but was procreated by the household gods out of the fire of the hearth. The sentiment which dictated this legend was displayed much more forcibly in actual custom. In the house

* The allusion to the Japanese Fudo is taken from *Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*. Vol. I, Letter 32, p. 353, by Miss Arabella Bird: London, 1881. The allusion to Tartar horses is from *Ehcyel. Brit.*, 9th edition, Article on Fire, note. The legend of the combustion of Kama-Deva is told in Rāmāyana, Book I, near the end. In *Satapatha Brāhmana*, 6, 2, 13, it is said that at the dissolution of the body, when the ^{all} parts of the organism are dispersed to their appropriate elements, the ^{to} returns to the sun. In the *Vendśśdd Fargard*, V, 13, it is directed that "the dead shall be laid in the Dakma, or burial tower, with his eyes toward the sun." In Plato's *Republic*, VI, 18, it is said: "I regard the eye as possessing more affinity to the sun than any other organ." For the Norse legend, see Thorpe's Edda, Pt. II, p. 93.

of every citizen in Greek or Roman states the hearth was an altar, upon which a fire, dedicated to the souls of ancestors (the Lares or household gods, as they were usually called), was kept constantly burning. This fire was never allowed to go out, so long as a son was born in each successive generation, who could perform the usual rites before the sacred flame. The extinction of the hearth implied the extinction of the household. The meals of the family were religious acts; for the first morsel of every feast was given to Hestia, the goddess of the hearth, and no outsider except the honoured guest-friend was allowed to be present at such times. Similarly the Tunguz, Mongol, and Turki hordes in Central and Northern Asia, will not commence a meal without first throwing a morsel on the hearth as an offering to the life-god of the house. In West Africa, it is the custom to dedicate the hut to the fire-ferish. For this purpose an altar is erected within; offerings are thrown upon the flame, and prayers are addressed to it that it may "live" there as the guardian of the house. It was declared by an Ojibway prophet to his fellow-tribesmen:—"Know ye that the fire in your huts and the life in your bodies are one and the same thing." In the same tribe, whenever a new-born child is brought into the house, a new fire is lighted. The very same custom exists among the Basutos of South Africa. The new fire thus lighted indicates the new life imported into the household, and the lighting of such fires is considered to be conducive to the child's health and longevity.*

Fire being the essence of life, death has been described as the going out of a flame. The death of Dasaratha, the father of the renowned Rāma, is thus related by the Hindu poet: "When all capacities for enjoyment had been consumed, his life-flame went out, as the flame of a lamp expires in the morning when its oil has been spent."† "Put out the light, and then put out the light," was the exclamation of Othello, as he extinguished the candle in Desdemona's chamber, so as to darken his soul to extinguish the life of Desdemona herself.‡ But words, which

* The Mongol custom is alluded to in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 254; edit. 1871; and the custom of West Africa in p. 253. The Ojibway custom is described in *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Demenech, Vol. II, p. 376; and the Basuto custom in Casalis' *Basutos*, p. 267. The saying of the Ojibway prophet is quoted from the article on Fire by Elie Reclus, *Encyc. Brit* 9th edition.

† *Raghuvansa*, XII, 1.

‡ *Othello*, Act V., Scene II, lines 10-14. Compare the exclamation of Macbeth on receiving news of the Queen's death; "Out, out, brief candle." Act V, Scene V, line 23.

were introduced by Shakspeare for the sake of scenic effect, describe what really happens in every Burman's house whenever a death occurs. "When a Burman dies," says the late Captain Forbes, "all the fires in the house are extinguished directly after the death, and fresh fire to light them with must be bought with some betel-nut, tobacco, &c."* At the nuptial ceremonies of the Chinese two large candles are kept burning all night in the wedding chamber. "Should one or both of them go out during the night, such an event would indicate the premature death of one of the wedded pair. If the candles should burn out at about the same time, it is supposed that the couple will die at about the same period in the future. Should one burn much longer than the other, it is inferred that one will long survive the other."† The word *nirbān* (which means the going out of a flame) became the technical term in the Buddhist creed to express salvation; for salvation in that creed consisted in the final extinction of the flame of personal existence. The church of Rome has employed the same figure, but to typify perdition. In the rites of this church the ceremony of putting out a lighted taper by throwing it on the ground symbolized the descent of the condemned soul into the smoke and darkness of eternal death. Thus when the prelates of England assembled to compel king Henry III to confirm the Great Charter, they stood around him holding lighted tapers in their hands, and after denouncing the severest penalties of the church against any one who should hereafter violate the Charter, they threw their tapers on the ground and exclaimed:—"May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and corrupt in hell."‡

The theory, by which earthly fire was identified with the soul or vital principle, was applied to the great luminary of the sky. In the religion of Egypt, one of the chief deities was Rá, who personified the sun, the great storehouse of heavenly fire, from which, as from the fire of the Grecian Zeus, all the lesser flames of heaven and earth were said to emanate. There was no idol or material image of Rá in the great Sun-temple at Heliopolis. The only visible symbol in which the life of the world was displayed to those who visited his temple, was the solar disk with the Urcus serpent entwined around it and rays of light ending in human hands, one of which offers the phallus (the great emblem of generative power) to his worshippers. So, too, the Saxon and Norse Sun-god, Frea or Fro, to whose beneficent providence were

* *British Burma*, Chap. IV, p. 94: edit. 1878.*

† Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, Chap. II, p. 64. edit. 1868.

‡ Hume's *History of England*, *ib loco*.

ascribed the fertilizing rains, the life-giving sunshine, and the blessings of fruitfulness and peace, was worshipped as the god of marriage, and represented by a phallus like the Egyptian Rá. * Sometimes Rá was represented as a hawk or sun-bird, like the Agni Garutmat of the Indian sky (that "well-winged celestial bird," as the Vedas call him), or the eagle of the Olympian Zeus, or the colossal raven of the North American races, or the red swan of the Ojibways, or that lost and nameless bird of Hebrew mythology, which "takes the wings of the morning and sets in the uttermost parts of the sea," (Psalm CXXXIX, 9). Hence in the burial vaults of ancient Egypt, the soul painted on the wall as hovering round the mummied form, which it intends to reanimate with a second life, is represented as a hawk with human head, that is, a miniature sun illuminating the body of man. † Blood is the colour of fire, besides being one of the chief embodiments of life; and hence in the religion of the Sun, blood has been one of the chief offerings made by the worshipper. Thus, the native hunting tribes of Brazil paid homage to the sun with birds' feathers smeared with blood, preserving them in their cabins as guardians of the family life, and sprinkling them afresh from time to time with blood newly offered to the same deity. In the temples of Mexico the rising sun was welcomed every morning of the year with the blast of trumpets, the smoke of incense, and drops of blood drawn from one of the priests' own ears. In New Granada the holiest sacrifice that could be made by the priests of the Chibcha tribe was the blood of a pure youth, daubed just before daylight on the peak of a mountain, so as to catch the first rays of the newly arisen sun. ‡ In the great

* The following passage is quoted by Mr. Kemble (*Saxons in England*, Vol. I, Chap. XII, p. 337), regarding Fro or Fricco, from an account given by Adam of Bremen:—"Tertius (Deus) est Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus. Cujus etiam simulachrum fingunt ingenti Priapo." And, in another place, the same Adam writes: "Si nuptiæ celebrandæ sint, sacrificia offerunt Fricconi."

The snaky and phallic emblems of Ra or Aten-Ra are described in pages 163-4 of Teile's *History of the Egyptian Religion*, Trübner's edit. 1882. The other sun-gods of Egypt were also symbolised by a phallus; for them, see p. 80 and p. 219: and for Amun, see p. 149. The same writes in p. 114 remarks that every sun-temple in Egypt had a phallus made of stone and gilded.

† *The Egypt of the Past*, by Mr. Erasmus Wilson, published by Kegan Paul & Co., 1881. This author, however is not entirely responsible for the colouring and interpretation given in the text. See also Teile's *Religion of Egypt*, p. 71.

‡ These three examples are taken from p. 261-3 of Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, edit. 1871. The interpretation of the blood offering is my own.

national festival that used to be held in Mexico, in pre-Christian times, in honor of the Sun-god (Tezcatlipoca), a beautiful youth, after being worshipped for one whole year as an incarnation of the sun and an emblem of his youthful vigour, was sacrificed by a priest dressed in a red or blood-coloured mantle. While the youth was being immolated, his heart still quivering with life and dripping with blood was held up to the full blaze of the sun, and in this way the soul or life of the youth was rendered back to the god who gave it.* The Thugs of India, (a sect of secret murderers, which has been lately suppressed), kept their dreadful instrument, the pickaxe, constantly turned towards the west as the region of darkness and death; and the ceremony for consecrating the pickaxe was declared invalid, if the shadow of any living thing fell upon it, while the consecrating ceremony was being performed. †

The examples hitherto quoted relate solely to animals and plants. But the maxim *corpus est terra, anima est ignis* was applied not merely to man himself, but to the entire physical universe. Arguing from the analogy of his own organism, man was led to regard the world of created things as one vast animal body, which drew life and sustenance from an omnipresent, all-permeating flame. It is common with modern pantheists and poets to speak vaguely of the soul of nature. But it was more suited to the capacities of primitive men to fix upon some visible force or element by which this soul could be defined and realized; and the element usually chosen for the purpose was fire. By altering a single word, the celebrated couplet of Pope can be made to express the great physical doctrine of antiquity:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and fire the soul.

The leading thought of the Egyptian religion, the point at which all its rays converged in one focus of light, was the doctrine

* The facts here related are given in Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. 1, p. 63: edit. 1860. The explanation of the sacrifice is my own. Mr. Prescott's own interpretation is that "the tragic story of this prisoner is the type of human destiny, which, brilliant at its commencement, too often closes in sorrow and disaster." As the youth in question was avowedly an emblem and incarnation of the sun, the worshippers of the sun-god could scarcely have paid their patron deity a worse compliment. Such an interpretation is not merely antagonistic to the very aim and meaning of the sacrifice, but is opposed to what Mr. Prescott himself has said in page 52 of the same chapter: "the highest place in the future world was reserved, as in most warlike nations, for the heroes who fell in battle, or in sacrifice. They passed at once into the presence of the sun, whom they accompanied with songs and choral dances, in his bright progress through the heavens."

† *Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs*, p. 46: edit. London, 1837.

of cosmic fire. "The Goddess Neith," says Dr Terle, "like all the other deities of Northern Egypt, is a personification of the heavenly fire. She represented the cosmic fire, hidden, mysterious, to which all that is owes its existence." The epithets, by which Neith and the other deities or powers representing the soul of nature are commonly described, are "the young-old," "lord of the long times," "the first-existing," "the lord of centuries"—all of which indicate that the subtle creative flame which animates the body of nature was the oldest and first of elements. The speculations of the ancient Hindus bore a close resemblance to this doctrine.

In the Vedic hymns Agni is said "to have stretched out the heaven and the earth, to have illuminated the primeval darkness, to have caused the sun to ascend the sky, to have made all thin flies, or walks, or stands or moves."* In the old religion of Persia the creation and orderly arrangement of the world were ascribed to Ahura Mazda, "the all creative spirit," the essence of whose nature consisted of fire and light:—"He first created, by means of 'his own inherent fire, the multitude of celestial bodies, and through his intellect the good creatures, governed by the unborn good mind. When my eyes beheld thee, the essence of truth, the creator of life, who manifests his life in his works, then I know thee to be the primeval spirit, thou Mazda!"† The fire called Ashi Vahisti, which specially represented the fixity and order of the world, is invariably spoken of as Ahura Mazda's

* These remarks as to the cosmogonic character of Agni had been written before I had seen *Religions of India*, by A. Parth who in Chap. I p. 10, has thus described the functions of the Vedic Agni: "He begets the gods, organizes the world, produces and preserves universal life, and is in 'a word a power in the Vedic cosmogony.' *** He is a sort of *anima mundi*, 'a subtle principle pervading all nature,' &c. Trubner's Oriental Series, 1882.

The passage relating to Neith is quoted from Terle's *History of the Egyptian Religion*, (Trubner's edit., 1882), p. 205. The other deities or powers representing the cosmic flame are Shu (p. 85, 6) Annu, (p. 142, 150), Itháh (pp. 91, 6), Chnum (p. 131). The various sun-gods of Egypt, Ra, Osiris, Horus, Munt, Chem, Set with their respective goddesses, were all looked upon as creative powers.

† Quoted from the fourth section of the first Gáthá Yasna XXXI in Hang's *Essays on the Parsia*, p. 101, edit. 1878. The name Ahura Mazda has been corrupted into Oimurd in European books. The etymology given by Prof. Max Müller derives the name from the two Sanskrit words

अहर मेधस् which mean the Wise Spirit. But the late Dr Hang con-

sidered this to be a mistake. He points out in p. 301, note (r), that the oldest form of the word Mazda was Mazdáo, which he derives from *mad*. (all), and *dáo* (creator.) Hence Mazda means the all-creator.

son. * The cosmogony of the Norse commenced with a primeval chaos, in which neither earth nor heaven could be distinguished, and no form of life existed. This was followed by "a luminous, burning, flaming world situated towards the south," from which a warm breath exhaled, and the first germs of life were created. † The earliest philosophers of Greece tried one element after another in their attempts to hit upon some primordial principle, by which the formation and maintenance of the world could be explained. But fire, the element chosen by Heraclitus, was the one finally accepted by the nation. Aristotle taught that Zeus, the great god of the Greeks, was merely a name for the fire of the sky; and this doctrine received afterwards a wider extension from the Stoics, who held that "the world-spirit is a primeval fire, just as the soul of man, which "is an emanation from it, consists of warm ether." ‡ The doctrine of a pan-cosmic fire, guided by an indwelling mind, is thus stated by Virgil:—

Principio cœlum ac terras camposque liquentes
Luceatque globum Lunas Titanique astra
Spiritus intus alit, totanique infusa per artus
Mens agitât molem et magno se corpore miscet.
Igneus est ollis vigor et cœlestis origo
Seminibus, &c.

Æneid, VI, 724 ff.

The races of North America believed and still believe in a Great Spirit, Gitchi Manito, who animates the entire creation, whose voice speaks to them in the wind and thunder, whose eye shines upon them with his light, whose breath warms them with the solar heat, or destroys them with the forest fire. Some tribes identify this being with the sun, others with fire; while others attempt to conceive him as something more ethereal than either. § The natives of Mexico preserved up to the time of the Spanish conquest the worship of the Fire-lord, whom they called Hue-hue-teotl, "the old-old-god,"—a title which appears to imply that they considered fire to be the primeval element and the chief agent in the work of creation; but creative functions were

* See, for example, *Vendidad*, Fargard VIII, 2, 5; and 8, 79, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV.

† Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, Chap. V, p. 98: Bohn's edition, 1859.

‡ *Oxford Essays*, 1858. The quotation is from an essay on the Ancient Stoics by Sir Alexander Grant, p. 95; who quotes from Dr. Zeller's *Philosophy of the Greeks*, Vol. III, pp. 67-122.

§ See *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, Vol. II, p. 379. *Loakiel's Indians of North America*, Part I, pp. 4-6. The Great Spirit is sometimes conceived under the image of a gigantic bird, which evidently means the sun.

afterwards assigned to Tezcatlipoca, the Sun-god, 'who under the patronage of the Aztecs came to be regarded as the higher deity of the two.* A similar inference is suggested by the name of another Ancient of Days, Unkul-unkulu, "the old-old-one," whom the South Africans still faintly worship as Creator,—a kind of obsolete Titan, like the Greek Prometheus, who was once master of the world, came down to the earth, and put the first life-flame into forms of clay.† Fire-worship is a purely pantheistic sense could not have prevailed widely among savage tribes. But it is worth noticing that in the mythologies and folklore of even the most backward races fire is of all the elements the most ubiquitous. Its existence anywhere and everywhere seems to have been assumed by a kind of universal instinct. At one time it is concealed in a tortoise, at another in a fish, at another in the ocean, at another in the cloud, at another in rocks, and at another in trees. Fire comes down from the sky or rises up from the earth at the bidding of priests, wizards, and inspired sages. Though it exists everywhere, it prefers, as a rule, to hide itself. It has, therefore to be sought out, or stolen, or brought down by a bird, or rubbed out of wood, or struck out of rock. That fire exists in a latent form in every particle of matter was taught by scientific men in Europe up to a very recent date; and the doctrine has only lately been expelled from our school-books by the discovery that heat is in all cases merely a mode of motion.‡

Closely allied to the hypothesis of a cosmic fire, which is supposed to animate the body of nature in the same way as the life-flame animates the body of man, is the recognition of the all-ruling Sun, who sheds his liquid beams, fraught with life and light into the generative pores of the earth, and who by his own undeviating course through the heavens affords, the best

* Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 253: edit. 1871. See also Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, Book I, Chap. III, p. 62, where he says: "Tezcatlipoca was called the soul of the world, and was supposed to have been its creator."

† *Religion of the Amazulu*, by Rev. Callaway, a Missionary in South Africa, Part I. The deity named was worshipped as Heaven-god, Thunderer, Creator, and as the first great ancestor of mankind, like Prometheus by the Greeks.

‡ The notion of the world being fringed with fire occurs in the poet Gray, who says of Milton: "He passed the flaming bounds of space and time:" (See Ode on the Progress of Poesy). In Japan the four quarters of the compass are represented as the "Gods of the Four Quarters," and the heads of each of the idols is "surrounded with flames"; (see *Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, Vol. I, Letter VIII., p. 72, by Miss Arabella Bird: edit., Murray, 1881).

model of that fixity and order, of which he is in part the cause. In almost all the ancient civilizations, from China to Peru, the Sun has been pointed to as the type of the divine nature, the pattern to kings and rulers, his vice-regents or descendants on earth, and the maker and sustainer of the universe. In Egypt he was worshipped as Creator with the title of Râ, in Assyria with that of Bel, and in Phœnicia with that of Baal.* In Persia, under the name of Mithra, he was the close ally and associate, but not the equal, of the "all-creative Spirit," Ahura Mazda.† In India his creative powers are distinctly recognized both among the Brahmanized or so-called Aryan tribes and among the non-Aryan or indigenous. By the former he is called "the soul of the world," *âtma jagatas*, and receives the various names of Surya, Savitar, Pushan, Mitra, Vi-hnu, &c. By the latter under the various names of Sing bongu, Bûra Pennu, or Bella Pennu, he is reckoned the maker of all things in heaven and earth, and is said to have brought the inferior deities into being, that they might serve as his agents in carrying out the minor details of the universal scheme ‡. In the New World he is venerated by many of the hunting tribes as the symbol and minister of Kitchi Manito, the Great Spirit, as Mithra was of Ahura Mazda in the old creed of Persia. In Mexico under the name of Tezcatlipoca he almost superseded, (as we have shewn already), the "old-old-god," who personified the primeval creative fire. In Peru, under the name of Ynti, he superseded and usurped the functions of an older deity, "Pachacamac," "he who sustains or gives life to the universe."§ In Japan, before the days of Buddhism, he was worshipped under titles which signified Vivifier, Fulfiller, Soul-lodger; and is to this day declared to be the ancestor of the Micados, as he was that of the Incas in the old kingdom of Peru. || An eternal, parentless, uncreated Creator is worshipped by the savages of Polynesia under the name of Taaroa, who is variously represented as the god of fire, or of

* Hence Eusebius (in *Præparat. Evangelica*, I, 6), describes the Phœnicians and Egyptians as holding that the Sun, Moon and Stars are the sole causes of the generation and destruction of all things. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 268.

† The relations of Mitra to Ahura Mazda are described | page LXL, of Introduction to *Zend-Avesta*, in Vol. IV, *Sacred Books of the East*.

‡ The expression *âtma jagatas* occurs in *Rig-Veda*, I, 115,1, and in many other places. The worship of Bûra Pennu or Bella Pennu by the Khonds of Orissa is described in Macpherson's *India*, p. 84.

§ Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, Vol. I, Chap. III, p. 87, Note *: edit. 1860.

|| *Mythology of the Ancient Japanese*, p. 44; being an article in *Westminster Review*, No. CVII, July 1878.

sun, or of sky. The wide-arching, sun-holding, light-giving, rain-giving sky has sometimes been more honored as Creator than the Sun himself. Nyongmo among the Negroes of the Gold-coast, Zeus or Jupiter among the Græco-Roman states, Odin* among the Norse, and Tien among the Chinese, are conspicuous representatives of the Sky-god in this imperial capacity.* The following extracts from indigenous poetry will shew that the mind of the savage, in seeking to realize the unity and omnipresence of creative power, could sometimes rise to the same level as that of the Greek or Egyptian or Brahman, and select like them the sun or sky or fire as the foundation of his creed :—

"He was; Taaroa was his name; he abode
In the void. No earth, no sky, no men.
Taaroa calls, but nought answers.
Alone existing he became the universe.
The props are Taaroa; the rocks are
Taaroa; the sands are Taaroa; and it is
Thus he himself is named."

Polynesia.

Ζεὺς ἄστιν αἰθέρι, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ. Ζεὺς δοῦράνος,
Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα χῶτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον

Greece.

"He rises, wonderful, the eye of the sun,
Of water, and of fire, collective power
Of the gods; he fills heaven, earth, and sky
With his luminous net; he is the soul
Of all that is fixed or moveable."

India.

I have opened the heaven and the earth.
I am the seat of Neith, hidden in the hidden,
Covered in the covered, barred in the barred;
Unknown I am knowledge.
I am hid in the flame that never ceases to burn:
Heaven is shut up, and the waters are enclosed.
Where the waters rage, there the fire is still,
The abode of Neith is on the throat of Nunhur.

Egypt.

The mode in which men gave public expression to this faith was by the lighting of Periodic Fires,—a custom which still prevails in India, and once prevailed very extensively throughout the Norse, the Slav, and the Germanic races in Europe, and in several parts of the New World in times preceding the Spanish conquest. The object of these festivals was to propitiate

* A full account of Taaroa and of the various names and characters under which he is worshipped by the Polynesian race is given in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol II, pp 312-4. Nyongmo is described in the same work in p. 315. Odin's nature and antecedents are described in Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, Chap. V, p. 91-3: Bohn's edition, 1859.

the Sun, whose celestial fire kindles and renews at stated periods the generative fires of the earth; and hence the times selected for the celebration of these ceremonies were the solstices, the equinoxes, and the beginnings of the agricultural seasons. Men seem to have thought that by a general lighting of fires in fields and hill-tops they renewed the energies of the sun itself, as it passed through the various phases of growth or decay. While the sun was rising in the morning, they revived the slumbering flame and put new fuel on the hearth or altar, or if the last spark in the ashes was extinct, they performed the rite of the New Fire by rubbing wood on wood. This custom (as we learn from the Vedas) was observed with great punctiliousness by Brahman householders during the earliest age of Indian culture. In Europe at the midsummer solstice, when the sun had reached his zenith and appeared to be standing still, burning wheels were sent rolling down the hill-sides, as if to help him to surmount the summit of the sky, and begin his descent on the other side. In America, too, the great feast of Raymi held at Cuzco was celebrated at the time of this solstice. At the winter solstice, when the Sun had completed his annual round, public bonfires were lighted to symbolize the birthday of the new sun and stimulate his energies for the coming year. The Yule log of Christmas-tide in our own country is a survival of this custom. In India the two great fire festivals, Diwâli and Holi, mark the seasons, when the two great annual harvests are cut, and the new ones are sown: but the mass of legend, which has accumulated round these festivals, has destroyed almost every trace of their real significance and history. "Some nations, like the Etruscans in the Old World and the Peruvians and Mexicans in the New, carried these ideas to a high degree of development, and celebrated with magnificent ceremonies the renewal of the secular or astronomical periods, which might be shorter than a century. Some details of the festival among the Aztecs have been preserved. On the last night of every period (52 years) every fire was extinguished, and men proceeded in solemn procession to some sacred spot, where with awe and trembling the priests strove to kindle a new fire by friction. It was as if they had a vague idea that the cosmos, with its sun, moon, and stars, had been wound up like a clock for a definite period of time. And had they failed to raise the vital spark they would have believed that it was because the great fire was being extinguished at the central hearth of the world." *

* Quoted from article on Fire, in *Encycl. Britannica*, 9th edition; last page of article. The annual fire festival in honor of Neith is described in Teile's *Religion of Egypt*, (Trübner's edit., 1882), p. 208. The ceremony

In some countries the assimilation of life to a flame was pressed still nearer home by the theory that the process of generating a new fire by the friction of two pieces of wood, one of harder and the other of softer substance, was the exact counterpart of the process by which a new birth is generated in the animal body. Nowhere is this theory more explicitly announced than in one of the hymns of the Indian Vedas:—"This process of friction, of generation has begun. Bring this mother of the people, (the lower wood); let us rub out Agni as was done in the days of old. Skilled in the process bring the upper wood (the male) into contact with the lower one lying under it. Being impregnated she brings forth the vigorous Agni."* The word *mentula*, whose phallic meaning is well known to classical readers, was derived from a root signifying the boring stick used for kindling new fire;† and the word *εἰσάρα* in Greek has

of the burning wheel performed annually in Europe at the summer solstice is alluded to in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, p. 166. The Yule log of Christmas-tide is mentioned in p. 247 of the same work.

* Rig-Veda III, 29, 1-4; quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 209. The same comparison is also implied in *Sakuntala*, IV, 84. In his *Early History of Mankind*, Note (3), p. 255, 3rd ed. 1878, Mr. Tylor conjectures that the upper wood (*uttarārani*), used in Hindu ceremonies, was simply a block of wood, by which the boring stick was held steady as it was being drilled into the lower wood; and he appears to refer to certain European scholars (Kuhn, Roth, &c.) as holding this view. If this supposition were correct, the whole force of the comparison or metaphor described in the Vedic extract would be destroyed. But the supposition is entirely erroneous. The *uttarārani* is not a block used for steadying the boring stick. It is the boring stick itself. I referred the question to Babu Rajkumar Sarvādhikāri, professor of Sanskrit in the Lanning College, Lucknow, and the substance of his reply was as follows: The upper *arani*, or boring stick, consisted of a piece of Sāmi tree sharpened at one end into a point, which is called *mantha pramantha*, or *shanku*. The lower *arani* was a plank carved out of the aswattha wood which is of softer fibre than the Sāmi. The other end of the boring stick is surmounted by a small iron knob, which fits into an iron plate prepared for the purpose. It is this iron plate which keeps the boring stick steady. It takes two persons to generate new fire by this means. One person, who is generally the Brahman's own wife, jerks the cord twisted round the boring stick; while the other, the fire-priest himself, keeps the boring stick steady in its place, and holds the two woods together, and repeats *mantras*, or mystic texts for the production of the sacred fire, as the boring stick revolves. The process is therefore very similar to that by which the Esquimaux kindle a new fire in the arctic regions. A picture of the Esquimaux method is given in Mr. Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, p. 242. The only difference is that the savage sees nothing sacred in the process; whereas the Indian fire-priest regards it with feelings of the most intense awe.

† *Mentula* is of the same root as मण्ड, which in Sanskrit means the boring stick.

the double sense of the hearth on which the sacred fire of the household is kept constantly burning, and the passage to the uterus in which a new life is conceived. The same notion must have been present to the minds of our Teutonic ancestors: for the need-fires, by which they sought to secure fertility to fields and health to flocks, could only be lighted by married men, and only by the method of rubbing wood on wood; and on such occasions an image of Fro, adorned as usual with his phallic symbol, was often erected close at hand.* The "auspicious plank," in which the fire-drill was bored in Roman ceremonies, was made of ivy or the vine; and the relation of the creeper to the harder and stronger tree which supports it was understood to be the same as that of wife to husband.† Similarly in Hindu ceremonies the lower wood is taken from the branch of an *uswattha* or sacred fig tree; and the *uswattha* selected for the purpose must be one growing as a parasite out of the *Sāmi* or acacia, from which the boring stick or upper wood is taken.

In all these instances it is the friction method of kindling a new fire which symbolizes the process of generating a new life. Sometimes, however, the concussion method was interpreted in a similar light. In the marriage ceremonies of the Norse, the union of man and wife was solemnized by the bridegroom placing a hammer, (the instrument with which Thor struck fire and water out of a cloud, in the lap of the bridle.‡

* The following curious passage is quoted by Mr. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, Book I, Chap. XII, pp. 358-9, from the Chronicle of Lanercost, A.D. 1268: "Quidam bestiales, habitu claustrales, non animo, docebant 'idiotas patriæ ignem confictione de lignis educere et simulachrum Priapi statuere, et per hæc bestiis succurrere.'"

† *Pabulam felicitis materiam*, see Mr. Kelly's *Indo-European Folklore*, Chap. II, p. 44. Compare Horace, Epod. II, "Ergo aut adulta vitium, promagine altas marital populos." Compare also *Rig Veda*, X, 10, 14:—"Thou shalt embrace a other man, O Yami, as a creeping plant embraces a tree." But the most graphic account of the marital connection supposed to exist between the tree and the creeper occurs in *Ramayana*, Book I, where, when Kāma (the Indian Cupid) had inspired the whole creation with the love passion, it is said that "the tree bent its boughs to kiss the creeper." (See *Growse's Ramayana*, p. 45). Compare also the song addressed to the Chief in the *Lady of the Lake*:—

Oh when the rosebud, which blooms in you island,
Were wreathed in a garland around thee to twine.

‡ The classical reader will recollect the Grecian fable, in which Ixion, when he attempted to ravish Juno, is thrown off upon a cloud, whom he embraces and who thus becomes the mother of the centaurs. An illustration of Thor's hammer, inserted in the curved or central part of a pair of pincers, may be seen in Vol. I of *Rivers of Life*, by Major General Berlong, Edit. 1883, p. 84. As a rule, however, the concussion method was not considered such a suitable symbol of the process of generation the friction method. In Rome, for example, flint and steel were not

The identification of the process of fire making with that of life-making explains the markedly amorous character ascribed in most mythologies to the deities of fire, sun, or sky. The love-adventures of Zeus, the supreme sky-god of the Greeks,—of Apollo, their national sun-god,—and of Hercules, whose mythic labours symbolize the sun toiling with exhaustless energy through the obstacles of wind, cloud, and rain, are among the most dramatic episodes of Greek mythology. Indra, the great god of the Indian sky, surpasses even the Olympian Zeus in lascivious recklessness; for he seduces the wife of a holy sage and makes love to a Dānavī or demoness, while his dissolute court, unlike Olympus, is peopled with courtezans,—the lewd Apsaras, who (as their name implies) were the mermaids of the Indian sky-ocean.* Freyr, the sun-god of the Norse, is less fickle in his desires than Zeus or Indra; but he undergoes a more passionate love-labour than either in his long and painful courtship of the earth-goddess Gerda. The nine months' waiting, till she at last ceases to be cold and yields to his wooing, typifies the patient and at last successful efforts of the sun to pierce the frost-bound surface of the earth in Iceland and Northern Scandinavia.† In Mexico, before its conquest by the Spaniards, the sun-god (Tezcatlipoca) was typified (as we have already seen) by a youth distinguished for his personal beauty and masculine vigor. Four beautiful maidens were selected to keep him company, till the day came round when he was to be offered up in sacrifice. ‡ In the old religion of Peru, the Inca or reigning emperor was believed to be a descendant of the sun

allowed to be used for relighting the sacred fire of the hearth, if this happened to go out. See Coulanges's *La Cité Antique*, Chap. I. The flint and steel were adopted by the Latin church in order to emphasize the renunciation of the heathen rite.

* See note (153) in page 82 of Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, where Indra makes love to a Dānavī, that is, a woman of the Asura or demon tribe. In one place, (Rig Veda, VI, 46,3), Indra is called सख भुक्, which Śāyana explains *mille membra virilia habens*. The sage whose wife was seduced by Indra was Gautama, and the wife's name was Ahalyā. The story is told not in the Vedas, but in the Ramayana. Mr. Wheeler (*History of India*, Vol. I, p. 49) thinks that the myth must have originated in "the opposition of the Brahmans to the worship of Indra." The interpretation, however, given in the text is more simple and less hypothetical, besides being much more in accordance with the spirit of ancient mythology.

† *Water Tales*, by Karl Blind, p. 545: *Contemporary Review*, October 1881.

‡ Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. I, p. 68. This author however, is not responsible for the interpretation given by me of the reason why these maidens were given to the youth.

himself, and it was made an essential badge of his solar origin and office, that he should be furnished with an immense seraglio, such as would have put even the Hebrew Solomon to shame or jealousy. The "virgins of the sun" as fast as they came of age were perpetually being added to the number of his brides, until the list "amounted in time not only to hundreds, but thousands."* Perhaps Solomon himself thought he was doing honor to the gods of sun or fire, whose worship he had embraced to the neglect of that of Jehovah, by keeping a prodigious harem.

The animals chosen to represent the deities of fire, sun, or sky, appear to have been selected more on account of their amorous disposition and masculine power than for any other reason. Thus Parjanya, one of the numerous sky-gods of the ancient Hindus, was likened "at one time to "the procreative horse," at another to "the impregnating bull." Horses were sacrificed to the sun by the Greeks on mount Taygetus, and the same animals, as Herodotus tells us, were sacrificed to the sun by the Massagetæ of Tartary. † The chariot of Púshan, one of the Vedic sun-gods, was drawn by a team of goats. Thor, the Norse god of thunder and rain, whose hammer was the sacred type of nuptial procreation, was called "the stern lord of goats;" and it was by these his chariot

* Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, Chap. III, p. 107. This serves to explain the extraordinary custom which has prevailed in many parts of the world, and notably in India, of temple women, whose attachment to the god of sun or fire takes the form not merely of dancing and singing before the shrine, but of devoting themselves to his ministering priests, and by implication to the god himself, in a manner less innocent but more characteristic of the phallic attributes ascribed to him. Herodotus tells us that there was a chamber on the top of Belus' temple, with only a bed and table; and that a Theban temple was provided with a couch, to which the proudest ladies of the land were accustomed to go. It is related in I Samuel, II, 22 that the sons of Eli, the High Priest of the Mosaic Tabernacle, established a similar custom among the Israelitish women "who assembled at the door." In contrast with this guilty custom, Spenser has given us in *Faerie Queene*, Book III Canto VI, an account of how the nymph Chrysogone became unconsciously pregnant by the Sun-god, as she lay asleep under the open sun after bathing in a fresh stream of water :—

"Miraculous may seem to him that reads
 "So strange example of conception :
 "But reason teacheth that the fruitful seeds
 "Of all things living, through impression
 "Of the sun beams in moist complexion,
 "Do life conceive and quickened are by kind."

† Rig Veda V, 83,6 : and Rig Veda VII, 101,6 : "Parjanya is the bull "that impregnates all the cows : in him is the soul of the moving and, "stationary world." For the Massagetæ, see Herodotus I, 216, and IV 184.

was drawn. * The same animal was sacred to the Egyptian sun-god, Hesiri or Osiris, who was worshipped in connection with the Nile as the author of life, fertility, and abundance. The bull has been more widely honoured in this respect than any other animal in nature. A beast of this species, distinguished by the name of Muevis, was consecrated to Rá, the other great sun-god in the old religion of Egypt; and another kind of bull, known as Hápi or Apis, was worshipped in the same country as denoting the procreative energy of Hesiri and the Nile. † Siva, the great fire-god in the modern creed of the Hindus, is worshipped throughout India under the double emblem of the bull and the *lingam*; and living bulls are to this day dedicated to this deity as they were dedicated to Rá and Hesiri more than 3,000 years ago in Egypt. ‡ The winged bulls that have been exhumed of late years from the ancient temples of Assyria exhibit the sun-god partly in the character of the celestial bird, which takes its daily flight across the sky, and partly in that of the vigorous bull, who sheds life and fertility on the earth. The herds of cattle sacred to Apollo, the sun-god of the Greeks, are known to every reader of Homer. Strange tales are told in Hellenic history or tradition of the brazen bull possessed by Phalaris, the potentate of Agrigentum in B.C. 570, in the interior of which human victims were said to have been roasted. * Possibly the real explanation of these tales is that the bull of brass was an effigy to Apollo, to whom human victims were offered in the island where Apollo's own cows were said to graze; just as human victims were sacrificed to Tezcatlipoca in the sun-religion of Mexico. Most readers are aware of the myth in which Zeus assumes the form of a bull in the pursuit of a love adventure. In the old creed of Persia the bull was the most sacred of animals; but by the time when the

* Rig Veda VI, 57, 3. Thorpe's Edda, edit. 1866, Part I, p. 57, and p. 60.

† The Nile was called by the Egyptians Hápi or Apis.—L. The very same name as that given to the sacred bull, and for obvious reasons. Both were worshipped as the male principles of generation.

‡ One of the Sanskrit words for *bull* is वृषन् or वृषभ and वृषस is a word for *horse*; all of them being derived from वृष् which means to rain or sprinkle. An older word for *bull* is उक्शन (Ukshan), which is derived from the root *uksh*, which means to sprinkle. Hence the Latin *vacca* and the English *ox*. Every one who has lived in India is aware that Siva's bulls are protected by the British Government, and that they are the only bulls employed by the people for breeding purposes. In this respect they sustain the phallic character of the deity, to whom they are dedicated.

Vendidad was compiled, its worship had already passed from the adoration of the living bull to that of the mythical mundane monster, who was killed by the evil spirit, and from whose creative limbs and life-giving blood all animals and plants were believed to have sprung:—"Hail, holy bull! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makeest increase! Hail to thee, who makeest growth! Hail to thee who dost bestow thy gifts upon the excellent faithful, and who will bestow them on the faithful yet unborn.' But this pious invocation to the mythic world-bull of Persia is nothing in comparison with the myth of Egypt, according to which the primeval Apis was miraculously born of a virgin cow, the Creator himself having over-shadowed her with an effluence of his own fire, a spark of the ethereal essence.* The cat, as an emblem of the erotic character of the sun, is known from Scandinavia to China. It was believed by the Norse that the chariot of Freyja, the love-goddess, and her brother Freyr, the sun-god, was drawn by a team of cats. In 1871 nearly half the marriages in Scotland took place on Freyja's day or Friday; while in England, by a natural reaction, Friday has come to be considered an unlucky day for the celebration of such events. In Egypt the Great Cat (Mau) is explained in the Book of the Dead,—a manuscript of immense antiquity—to have been a symbol of the sun, or the sun-god himself. It was the custom in those days to expel evil spirits by a rattle adorned with a cat's head; and up to the time of Herodotus and for some centuries later live cats were kept in temples and held up to popular worship. In China it is customary even now to put a wooden cat on the gable ends of the roofs of houses, this being considered a safeguard against the demons of barrenness, infirmity, and death.†

* *Vendidad Fargard*, XXI, 1. (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV, p. 224, edit. 1892.) This Fargard is devoted to the praises of Water and Light—both of which are addressed as life-giving and healing powers. The chapter well commences with the praises of the Holy Bull, which strikes water out of the clouds or cows, and sheds showers of heat and moisture into the generative pores of the earth. The primeval bull praised in this hymn was one of the most conspicuous objects in the bright or good creation by Ahura Mazda; but it was killed by the Evil Spirit, Ahriman, the author of the dark creation, with the help of Gahi. When the bull was killed, all kinds of animals and plants sprang up out of the fragments. This is described in Bundahis, Chap. XIV, (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, p. 45). The three great fires of ancient Iran (Frôbâk, Gûasp and Bôizin-Mitrô), are said to have first rested on the back of the mundane ox. See *Bundahis*, Chap. XVII, 2-7. The miraculous birth of the premeval Apis is told in Teilie's *Egyptian Religion*, Edit. 1882, p. 100.

† See Goldschmidt's *Mythology of the Hebrews*, excursus D, p. 342: edit. London, 1877. See also p. 64, 1, of article on *Water Tales*, by Karl Blind.

II.

As fire was identified with life in the individual body, so a public fire kept constantly burning on a central hearth or altar represented the collective life of a tribe, state, or nation, and was worshipped as such by the community. In the ancient world, both in the east and west, and in the new world discovered by Columbus, almost every form of political life centred round a public fire. The perpetual flame that burns self-kindled and self-nourished at Baku, on the borders of Europe and Asia, is almost the only fire that has survived, at which pilgrim fire-worshippers from various lands, (Ghebers, as the Moslems call them), can yet rekindle the dying embers of a creed, that was once the dominant faith in Egypt, Western Asia, and Europe. The glowing anticipations of Zarca, the renowned Gipsy king, who aspired to be the Moses of his race, "the saviour of a people blessed by no prophet," give a true description of the conditions under which scattered and wandering hordes have been welded into mighty states :—

"I'll guide my brethren forth to their new land,
Where they shall plant and sow and reap their own,
Serving each other's needs, and so be spurred
To skill in all the arts that succour life ;
Where we may kindle our first altar fire
From settled hearths, and call our Holy Place
The hearth that binds us in one family."

Spanish Gypsy.

Looking first to Eastern lands, where the oldest civilizations were founded, we find that almost every temple in Egypt had its perpetual fire. Fire-worship was largely practised in Chaldæa and Assyria ; but the records are too scanty to enable us to speak positively as to whether perpetual fires were kept or not. The fire-pillars of Phœnicia, and the temple of the Tyrian Baal, where stood no image but the eternal fire burning on the hearth, are well known to history. * Every reader of the Old Testament knows

in *Contemporary Review*, October 1881. What he says about marriages in Scotland has been taken from Report of the Registrar General, accompanying the Census returns for 1871. What he says about China is on the authority of Mr. N. B. Dennys, author of *Folklore of China*. He shews too that the cat was selected as a type of the sun not only from its erotic character, but also from its glowing eye. In proof of the amorousness popularly ascribed to cats, he quotes the German proverb, *Wer die katzen gern hat, hat bei Weihern Glück*. On the cat as an emblem of the sun-gods of Egypt, see Teiles *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 193, 98, and 86.

* Moner's *Phonizier*. Vol. I., p. 327, 337, &c., quoted by Tylor in *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 255, edit. 1871. An account of the perpetual fire sacred to Neith is given by Dr. Tiele in his *Egyptian Religion*, p. 208.

how much these Tyrian fires were revered and copied by the Israelites. It seems, indeed, from the accounts given in the book of Exodus and elsewhere, that a sacred fire dedicated not to Baal or Moloch, but to Jehovah, was one of the badges of the new faith to which the Most High had called them. A fire speaking to Moses from a bush, which fed the flame but was not consumed by it, typified that Jehovah would shortly deliver them unharmed out of the furnace of affliction, into which their task-masters had thrown them. *In the passage of the Red Sea a sacred fire went before them as a symbol of the Divine presence,—“a cloud (or smoke) by day and a pillar of fire by night.” The law was delivered to them by “a voice exceeding loud” speaking out of the smoke and flames of Sinai; “Mount Sinai was altogether in a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire:” (Exodus XIX, 18). In their long wanderings through the wilderness, it was the sacred fire which shewed them when to halt, and when to move forwards: (Exod. XL, 36-38). After the consecration of Aaron and his descendants to the high priesthood, “there came out “a fire from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the “burnt offering and the fat.” (Levit. IX, 24). It was specially prescribed among the ceremonial precepts of Moses that “the “fire upon the altar should not be put out, and that the priest “should burn wood on it every morning. The fire shall be ever “burning on the altar; it shall never go out.” (Levit. VI, 12, 13). Here is a distinct record of the establishment of a perpetual fire to be maintained and watched by priests, like the perpetual fires of Egypt and Phœnicia: and we are expressly told that when “Aaron’s sons, Nadab and Abihu, offered strange fire before the “Lord, which He commanded them not, there went out a fire “from the Lord and devoured them.” (Levit. X, 1, 2). Lamps are still kept constantly burning in the Jewish synagogues in memory of the perpetual fire that burnt in the temple at Jerusalem, and as a symbol of the continuity of the national life.

In the ancient creed of Medo-Persia we have shewn already how distinctly the life of the individual body was defined to be “animal-fire which consumes both food and water.” The same people were not less noted for the *keeping of perpetual fires in token of the collective life of the nation. We know from Herodotus that Xerxes spared the pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Delos, because its perpetual fire impressed him too keenly with its resemblance to those of his own religion and country. But direct evidence of the existence of such fires is furnished by the sacred books of the Persians themselves. The very same chapter in the *Bundahis* which describes the fire of the individual body alludes to three great historical

fires, which were kept constantly burning in fire-temples on the tops of mountains and were called respectively Frôbak, Gûsasp, and Bûrziu-Mitro. The Frôbak fire was at first established (as the legend relates), "in the reign of king Yim on the glorious mountain in Khvârizem," a province to the east of the Caspian ; afterwards "in the reign of king Vistasp, upon declaration from "revelation, it was removed from Khvârizem and established "on the shining mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâbul, "just as it remains there even now." Here, then, is contemporary testimony to the existence of a perpetual fire, which formed the nucleus of a fire-worshipping community in Cabul, in about 880 A. D, or two centuries subsequent to the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty by the Mahomedans. The fire Gûsasp was established "on the Aavanand mountain" in the province around Lake Kêkast, "where it continually gave protection to the world, until the reign of Kai-Khûsrôh," when the dominion of the fire-worshippers came to an end, and the sovereignty passed to the Arabs. The third fire was established on mount Rêvand, where "until the reign of king Vistâsp it ever assisted in like manner, and continually afforded protection." Wonderful stories were told of these three fires,—how they were once blown into the sea by the wind, and how they sprang up out of the water "like three breathing souls, to the back of the ox," the great primeval world-bull, to which we have already alluded. "In the reign of Yim"—the mythical ancestor of mankind,—"every "duty was performed more fully through the assistance of these "three fires."* Ever since the Mahomedan conquest in A. D. 651, the fires of Persia have been dying out. Some of the fire-worshippers took refuge in India, and in this country, wherever Parsis are settled, an everlasting fire is kept, which is preserved with a more than vestal care, and is ever fed with perfumes and dry well-blazing logs. An oppressed remnant of the race still keeps up its everlasting fires at Yezd and Kirman, in their old Persian land. Probably these are the oldest fires that could be found in the face of the earth.

Turning to the classical soil of Greece and Italy, we find that sacred fires kept constantly burning on the public hearths or altars were the centres around which the ancient commonwealths.

* *Bundahis*, Chap. XVII. The Mahomedan conquest is distinctly alluded to in *Bundahis*, Chap. XXXIV, 9: "The Sassanians bore the sovereignty 460 years, and then it went to the Arabs." A century ago, the fire-worshippers in Persia numbered about 100,000 souls. There are now only about 8,000 or 9,000 souls. The Parsis in Western India number about 150,000 souls.

grew up; and we have the testimony of the ancients themselves that the extinction of the public fire was considered the most fearful of all prodigies, because it typified the extinction of the state.* At Athens the life-flame of the state was preserved in a temple or court called the Prytaneion; and as the constitution of the city expanded, the Prytanes (originally priests of Pyr or Fire) came gradually into possession of almost the entire political power. It was only by the union of the 12 fires of the 12 burghs or petty communities of Attica, and their location in a common hearth dedicated to Athene Polias, that Athens became the first city in Greece.† The towns or burghs of Elis attached themselves to a public fire at Olympia, which was kept burning night and day in honor of Pan, the god of shepherds; and it was here that persons from all parts of Greece assembled to witness trials of athletic and artistic skill.‡ The towns of Argolis confederated themselves around a common fire at the port of Kalauria, sacred to Poseidon, the guardian of the waves; and it was to this fire that Demosthenes, the Athenian, fled for refuge from the rage of Antipater. The burghs of Arcadia established an eternal fire at Mantinea, in honor of Demeter, the Earth-Mother; and it was only by the help of the league so formed, that the Theban Epaminondas gained the decisive victory, which broke the power of Sparta. The Cyclades of the *Ægean* confederated themselves around the fire at Delos, the sacred isle of the Sun-god, from which a new fire was taken every year by each member of the league. All Greece attempted to confederate herself round the sacred fire, which was kept constantly burning at Delphi. In the states of Greece, whenever the public fire happened to go out, all business was stopped, all tribunals were closed, and the life of the body politic was for the time suspended. Whenever a new colony was sent out, the emigrants took with them a flame from the public fire of the mother-state, and thus the continuity of the national life was preserved: or if no such flame could be procured, a new fire was publicly kindled by the leader of the colony at the founding of the new city. Aristophanes in founding his city of birds gives a mock solemnity to the event by bringing in a priest, who kindles a sacred fire, while a poet sets up a strain of heroics, and a soothsayer recites oracles and auguries. It was the neglect of such rites which according to Herodotus was the cause of the destruction of the new

* Dionysius, II, 67: Livy, XXVI, 1.

† Thucydides, II, 15: Plutarch's Theseus, 24.

‡ Pausanias V. 15: sec. 6.

settlement founded by the Spartan Dorieus, only three years after its establishment.*

In Rome as in the various states of Greece, the perpetual fire kept burning on the public altar was the *εστία πόλεως*, the hearth-fire of the city, round which the hopes and fears of the citizens were centred, just as in private houses the perpetual fire maintained in the inner court of the building was the rallying point of all the interests, traditions, and duties of the household. The celebrated fire of Vesta, established first at Alba Longa and afterwards transferred to the foot of the Palatine hill, on which the oldest part of Rome was built, was believed to have been carried into Latium by "the pious Æneas" from the altar of king Priam's hearth and to have been re-lighted by the pious Numa from the sun-beams. Rome only began to be great, when the three tribes, of which her mixed population was composed, consented to mingle their respective fires on a common altar in the temple of Vesta.† In Rome, as in ancient Persia, the worship of the Vestal flame was fire-worship of the purest type: for Vesta (the goddess in whose name this worship was paid) was merely the personification of the fire itself: whereas in Greece almost every perpetual fire was dedicated to the patron deity of the state (such as Athéné, Apollo, Demeter, Poseidon, Pan, &c), and it was through this fire that offerings were made to the tutelar god or goddess. Hence in Greece the perpetual fire was partly a symbol of the permanence of the Divine presence, and partly of the continuous life of the state. In Rome it was only the last. Ovid was astonished to find that Vesta, that is, the pure flame itself, had no image:—

Esse diu stultus Vestæ simulacra putavi :

Mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo,

Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo,

* Effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habet.

Fasti VI, 295.

Augustus was not really master of the Roman empire, till he had assumed charge of this Vestal fire and taken upon himself the title and functions of Pontifex Maximus,—that is the

* Herodotus V, 42. It was M. Coulanges, who in his learned and original work called *La Cité Antique* of which a condensed translation has been published by Mr. Barker, first drew attention to the vast importance of the part played by sacred fires in the formation of the Greek and Roman states.

† Ovid, Fasti IV. The three tribes were Ramnes (Romans proper), Titules or Sabines, and Luceres or Etruscans.

guardianship in chief of the eternal fire, which guarded the life-flame of the eternal city. *

The great historical fires of the Græco-Roman world died out with the decay of the polytheistic creeds which fed them. But, like the fabled Phoenix of Egypt, they sprang into a new life immediately afterwards out of their own ashes. The "eternal lamps," which still burn in the Latin and Byzantine churches, were lighted (in a metaphorical, if not a literal sense) from the embers of those pagan flames. It is well known that there is no element so sacred as fire in the Roman Ritual, and that the title of Pontiff or Pontifex Maximus has descended to the head of the Latin church, who now reigns at Rome as the spiritual and once the almost political successor of Augustus. It was urged by Bishop Strossmayer, in the presence of the 700 prelates assembled at the late Ecumenical council, that the Pope of Rome could not be declared infallible, because Marcellinus, who was Pope from 296 to 303 A. D., "was neither more nor less than an idolater, having entered into the temple of Vesta and offered incense to the goddess."†

Perpetual fires were kept by many nations of the old world outside the reach of Greek or Roman influence. The Demaras of South Africa are keeping one to this day; and its care is entrusted to the King's own daughters. The old Germans kept an ever-burning lamp before the statue of Thor, their god of thunder. The Prussians had an everlasting fire, which the Crive or sacrificing priest was obliged to maintain with oakwood in honor of their god Perkun. The Lithuanians had in Wilna an everlasting fire called Zincz, and punished the priests with death, if they permitted it to go out. The sacred flame at Arkona in the temple of Svanwit, the Slavic god of light, could not be approached by the priests except with bated breath;—which reminds one of the mouth-veil (or Paitidāna, as it is called in the *Vandidd*)—a piece of white cloth, with which the fire-priests of Persia covered their mouths when serving the fire, lest the holy flame should be polluted by mortal breath.‡ At Kildare, in Ireland, a perpetual fire was

* One of the chief functions of the Pontifex Maximus was *capere Vestales virgines*, the selection of the Vestal virgins who watched the sacred flame. See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, under the word *Pontifex* and under the word *Vestales virgines*. These virgins were under the special control of the Collegium Pontificum of which the Pontifex Maximus was president or principal.

† This event is related in Major-General Forlong's work called *Rivers of Life*. Vol. I: edit. 1883, p. 340.

‡ *Vandidd*, Fargard XIV, 8 (26). The name by which the Parsis now call the mouth-veil is *Penom*, manifestly a contraction of *Paitidāna*. The mouth-veil is still worn by the fire-priests of the Tāzīd tribe, who live in

maintained in honor of Bridgit, the bright or shining god. It was surrounded by a fence, which no man was allowed to approach and was not to be blown on with the mouth, but only with bel-lows.*

Turning from the old to the new world, we find that the same notions and rites were in active force at the time of the discovery of America;—such is the uniformity of human instincts. The Aztecs of Mexico, no less than the Prytanes of Athens, received ambassadors in their temples of fire, where, ~~as~~ at the national hearth, they feasted their foreign guests. In every Mexican temple there were two altars, "on which fires were kept, as inextinguishable as those of Vesta."† The use of a common fire-temple of circular form, like the shape of Vesta's temple at Rome, testified to the common origin of the Assenai and Maicha tribes in the same continent. The Mobiles, the Chippeways, and the Natchez had each a corporation of Vestals. If the Natchez let their fire die out they were bound to renew it from the Mobiles. The Moquis, Pueblons, and Comanches had also their perpetual fires. The Redskins discussed important affairs at the council fires, around which each Sachem or delegate marched three times, turning all sides of his person towards the flame. "It was a saying among our ancestors," said an Iroquois chief in 1753, "that when the fire goes out at Onondaga,"—the Delphi of the League,—“we shall no longer be a people.”‡ The national fire of the Natchez

Eastern Persia. The custom is alluded to in Strabo XV, 14.* The same rule is prescribed in Mann's Institutes, Chap. IV, sloka 53: "Let him (the Brahmin) not blow the fire with his mouth; let him not throw any foul thing into the fire, nor let him warm his feet in it." The Persian custom is dealt with in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV, page 168, Note 7.

* The everlasting fires in Northern and Eastern Europe are alluded to in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 257, edit. 1871, where he quotes from Hanusch. Slav. Myth. pp. 88, 98. The allusion to the everlasting fire of the Demaras, is taken from a note in article on Fire in *Encl. Brit.* 9th edition; but the author does not quote his authorities. What follows in the above paragraph has been quoted almost verbatim from a printed letter (Letter VI, page 41) by the Right Rev. Leo Meurin, Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay, to the address of a Catholic Layman, on the subject *Zoroaster and Christ*. The Bishop himself quotes from Nepp., *Heidenthum*, I., p. 202. An account of St. Bridgit's day is given in Braud's *Popular Antiquities*, p.p. 188, 9; Edit. 1877.

† Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*. Chap. III, p. 60: Edit. 1860.

‡ All these examples are taken from a note to an article on Fire, by M. Em. Reclus, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition. A fuller account of the fire at Onondaga may be seen in Morgan's *Ancient Society*, page 137, Note. Edit. London 1877. It is worthy of remark, as shewing the connection felt to exist between earthly and heavenly fire, that the time at which the Sachems assembled at Onondaga was sun-rise. Allusions to the sacred fires of the Cherokees and Sioux occur in pp. 387-8, Vol. III of *Great Deserts of America* by Abbe Em. Domenech, In the Abbe's

burned day and night in two separate temples. "Their divine legislator had predicted the most frightful calamities, if over this fire was extinguished in both temples at once." The prophesy has been fulfilled. Both fires have gone out: and the national life of the Natchez has perished. In Cuzco, the great capital of the Incas, and the Rome or Mecca of the South American continent, not only was the Sun himself worshipped with the most solemn rites as the perpetual providence of the dynasty and empire, but he was brought down to the earth and represented by a sacred fire, which was entrusted to the care of "the virgins of the sun." This flame was relighted once a year from the sunbeams. "If by any neglect it was suffered to go out in the course of the year, the event was regarded as a calamity that boded some strange disaster to the monarchy." *

Thus, in almost all parts of the world, so far as the rites and mythologies of the different races can be traced, the life of the individual body, and the collective life of the body politic, have been conceived as a flame, or (what is the same thing at bottom) as an emanation from the sun. And modern science has proved that this ancient instinct was in the main correct. It is now a well-established fact that animal life is a perpetual burning of oxygen, and that the food administered to the living body is merely the supply of fuel necessary to keep the fire alive †. Not less certain is the fact, that all the phenomena of life, and in fact every form of energy displayed on this planet of ours, depend upon the continued emission of the sunbeams, without which all life and activity must cease and the earth itself must die. ‡ The present century is preeminently the age of fire; for

Vol. II, p. 418-9 we have an account of the perpetual fire of the Natchez and of the fire kindled by Montezuma still burning at Pecos. The everlasting fire kept in the Sun temple of the Natchez of Louisiana is also alluded to in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 262, who quotes from other original authorities.

* Prescott's *History of Peru*, chap. III. 102. Edit. 1850.

† The ancient philosophers of India had very nearly caught this fact. The following expressions are quoted by Mr. A. Gough from Sankaracharya-Sarvaushadam, *sarvaprāṇinam dehadhā prasamanam annam uchyte*: "Food is called the universal remedy, because it regulates the burning of the body of all living things." *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, chap. IV. p. 77. Edit. 1882.

‡ The following extract from Professor Tyndall's work on Heat gives an eloquent description of the fact here stated, page 431:—

"As surely as the force which moves a clock's hands is derived from the arm which winds up the clock, so surely is all terrestrial power drawn from the sun. Leaving out of account the eruption of volcanoes and the ebb and flow of the tides, every mechanical action on the earth's surface, every

heat has of late years been made to give force and motion even to inanimate bodies. The fire of the steam-engine, fed with fuel, as the fire of the animal body is sustained with food, has made us masters of time and space, and shortened the methods, and multiplied the products, of almost every form of human industry. The electric current has been snatched from the grasp of the great thundergods of antiquity, and taught to write, speak, and shine at the will of man.

III.

If fire is the essence of life, it follows that the same element must be a remedy for disease, impurity, or whatever else might be deemed inimical to the vital principle. And so, in fact, it has been regarded in a large number of rites and customs, which can be explained in no other way. Between health and purity no broad line of distinction can be drawn; for in early times physical disease, was confounded with ceremonial pollution, and this again with moral evil.* Each, alike, was ascribed

manifestation of power, organic and inorganic, vital and physical, is produced by the sun. His warmth keeps the sea liquid, and the atmosphere a gas, and all the storms which animate both are blown by the mechanical force of the sun. He lifts the rivers and the glaciers up the mountains; and thus the cataract and the avalanche shoot with an energy derived immediately from him. Thunder and lightning are also his transmuted strength. Every fire that burns and every flame that glows dispenses light and heat which originally belonged to the sun. In these days, unhappily, the news of a battle is familiar to us; but every shock and every change is only an application or misapplication of the mechanical force of the sun. The sun comes to us as heat, he quits us as heat; and between his entrance and departure, the multiform powers of our globe appear. They are all special forms of solar power, the moulds into which his strength is temporarily poured, in passing from its source through infinitude."

* The *Vendidad* has been described by the translator, Mr. James Darmesteter, as "The Parsi Code of Purification." Introd. p. LXXXIII. Speaking of sickness, this writer says in p. XCIII, "Logic required that the sick man should be treated as an unclean one, that is, as one possessed." * * * "The medicine of spells was considered the most powerful of all, and although it did not oust the medicine of the lancet and that of drugs," yet it was more highly esteemed and less distrusted." The same writer in speaking of purity remarks: "Purity and impurity have not in the *Vendidad* the exclusively spiritual meaning which they have in our languages; they do not refer to an inward state of the person, but chiefly to the physical state of the body. Impurity or uncleanness may be described as the state of the person or thing that is possessed of the demon; and the object of the purification is to expel the demon," p. LXXXV-VI. Every reader is aware that the same confusion between physical disease, ceremonial pollution, and moral evil pervades the Jewish law. For example, Naaman the Syrian is healed of his leprosy by bathing

to a visitation of the evil spirit; and the confusion has survived even to our own day, in the trite saying that cleanliness is next to godliness. In the remarks which follow we shall attempt to describe the part which fire has played as a healer of diseases, a purifier of the body, and a type of the inward purity of the soul.

The earliest and roughest method of using the fire-remedy was, by the direct application of the flame. This is still practised among the savages of Australia, where, in milder cases of injury, the sorcerer administers an actual flame to a bleeding sore or sprain. In Japan, especially in the tracks unvisited by foreigners, where the old customs of the people are still rife, the application of fire to the skin is the catholicon for almost every form of disease; and this, not merely as a remedy for existing ailments, but as a preventive against possible or expected ones. Operations for the latter purpose are usually performed at spring time, just as in England bloodletting was once practised at this season for the general improvement, (as was supposed), of a person's health. Four round marks are burnt on each side of the spine, and the same number on each leg; and the chest and sides receive each their appropriate share. The following extract from the poetic Edda implies that the ancient Norse were in the habit of branding their bodies for the production of health:—"Against evil, I will go burn thee, cure and medicate thee, although to me thou art hateful."* All over India the custom of directly applying the flame is more or less practised. In the Deccan the life of the celebrated Dr. Wolff, who had been suddenly attacked with cholera, was saved, by the application of hot irons, when other remedies had failed. "The natives have a remedy for cholera," says the great missionary traveller, "which consists in putting a hot iron on the stomach;" and in this way the disease was arrested.† In Upper India it is customary among the natives to put layers of ashes as hot as can be born on wounds, sores, or tumours; and if a

seven times in the Jordan,—river bathing being the most approved means for removing ceremonial uncleanness. Again, if a man was born blind or with any other physical defect or taint, the question raised was—Did this man sin or his parents?

* *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, by Isabella L. Bird, Vol. I, Fourth Edition, 1881; p. 141. The allusion to the Australian practice is taken from a note on Article on Fire in *Encyc. Brit.* 9th Edit. For the Norse custom, see Thorpe's translation of the Edda, Part II, p. 103. Edit. Trubner, 1866.

† *Travels and Adventures*, by Dr. Wolff: p. 449, Edit. 1861. In the *Punjab Notes and Queries*, there is an allusion to the custom of branding chamars, (men of a low and despised caste), for removing cattle disease. See page 27, December No. 1883. This is branding by proxy.

man has been bitten by a snake or scorpion, to insert a burning brand into the bite, so that the flesh (as they think,) may be purified by the contact of fire and the poison go out with the smoke. If they are not very eager to put fire to their own bodies, they do so very freely to those of their cattle. The remedy commonly employed for removing lameness, weakness, &c., in the limb of a horse or bullock, is to pass a burning brand or a heated iron several times, in paralld lines, across the part to be cured. Whenever a brass vessel, used for containing food or water, has been touched by any person or thing considered to be unclean, the impurity is removed by placing it on a fire and patting lighted coals inside it. Mere cleansing by water is declared to be insufficient among all the respectable castes in India.

The direct application of fire as thus practised, absurd as such a remedy may now seem to our minds, has led to important discoveries in the art of healing, as many other savage customs have done in other fields of scientific research. The cauterizing of sores, wounds, bites, &c., for destroying proud flesh, or stopping the discharge of blood, or preventing the spread of poisonous matter through the system, is a principle too well known to require comment, and the theory of the counter-irritant has been worked out in various forms which operate in the same way as roughly applying a flame. From the account given by Dr. Wolff of his own cure, it does not seem that even he perceived the secret of the remedy which saved his life; and it is certain that no native physicians in India, except those trained in our system, could give a rational explanation of his escape.

The next stage in the use of the fire-remedy was to bring the person or thing within the influence of the flame, but short of actual, or at least prolonged, contact. Momentary contact has been very highly esteemed in its day, as is clear from the once widespread practice of passing or leaping through a flame. It is well known how commonly this custom prevailed in Europe among the Teutonic nations in their days of barbarism, and how the custom still lingers in Bohemia, at least in tradition, if not occasionally in fact. Mediaeval Tartar tribes, who prior to their conversion to Islam had scruples against using water for the washing off of pollution, appeased their consciences by passing through fire, or between two fires placed sufficiently near.* We are told by a Greek historian that Romulus and his followers prepared themselves for the ceremony of laying the foundations of Rome by lighting a fire of brushwood and leaping through the flame, so that they might purify themselves for this sacred

* Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 393, edit. 1871.

act from all physical and moral stain.* Among the Syrian and Phœnician nations the custom of "passing through fire unto Moloch" was so commonly practised, that the Israelites and their kings more than once caught the contagion of their example. In some parts of Bavaria, seed is still passed rapidly through a flame, before it is sown in the fields, to ensure its rapid germination and growth. In certain parts of Southern India, sick persons and penitents are made to leap through fire or pass through a row of burning huts, with a view to the removal of disease or guilt † In all parts of India the natives pass their legs and arms through a flame, as a remedy against sprains, cramp, rheumatism, &c. In Turkestan sick children are made to leap over burning fires, and are struck seven times on the back, while the physician shouts at the disease or demon whom he thus seeks to expel: "Begone to the sea; begone to the desert." In China the wedding outfit of the bride is not considered fit to be conveyed into the bridegroom's house until it has been most carefully purified; and this is done by placing each garment in a sieve and holding it for a moment or two over a vessel of brass, in which burning coals have been placed. "Evil and unpropitious influences," says Mr. Doolittle, "are firmly believed to be expelled or warded off by this process of sifting the clothes of the expectant bride." When this

* Dion Halic. I, 88.

† In the year 1881, the custom in Southern India, having led to some disaster, was made the subject of a reference to the Supreme Government, of which the following account has been extracted from a local newspaper:—

FIRE FESTIVALS IN MADRAS.—Mr. W. T. S. Whiteside, Magistrate of North Arcot, having called the attention of the Madras Government to cases of loss of life from the practice of walking through fire at certain native festivals, with a view to its suppression, the following order has been passed on the subject:—"The Government apprehend, that it is impossible to hold that this "fire-walking" is generally dangerous to those practising it. When the attention of the Government of Madras was first turned to the practice in 1854, the District Magistrate's predecessor, an excellent administrator, classed it as idle and foolish rather than brutal and inhuman; nothing in the way of prohibition was, in his opinion, called for—(page 24, Selections of Government Records, No. VII). Other officers reported to the same effect. His Excellency in Council questioned whether it amounts to much more than the rushing or leaping through the fires of St. John, a practice which existed in our own days in Bohemia, and perhaps still exists there,—a practice which, coming down from the days of Sun-worship, prevailed largely throughout Europe, and which it took centuries of civilization, not "the long period of twenty-seven years," to eradicate, in so far as it is eradicated. The Governor in Council does not think that Mr. Whiteside has made out a case for any further action at present on the part of Government.

process has been completed, the outfit is carefully locked out of sight, until the bride takes it away to her husband's house. *

Mere proximity to a flame, short of leaping through it or over it, has been considered efficacious as a preventive or remedial agency. In the Punjab (as I have heard from persons who have lived there), a patient's recovery is believed to be accelerated, if his bed is placed between burning logs. In Upper India, if a person has been possessed by a witch, he is fumigated with sulphur and incense; and if he has been seized by a *bhut* or malignant spirit, (the explanation usually given for epilepsy, fainting, &c.), a fire is lighted in his room, and offerings of oil, ghee, and grain are thrown upon it, while *mantras* or spells are recited by the Brahman. The Persians kindle fires on the terrace of the house where the sick man lies. From Norway to Central America, fields and flocks have been fertilized and strengthened by lighting huge bonfires, which, so far as the flame could be seen, expelled the demon of barrenness and death. † The Basutos of South Africa fumigate a growing field of corn and cattle captured from the enemy with the flames and smoke of burning logs; and if a mother sees her child walk over a grave, she hastens to call it, and light a small fire at its feet. ‡ Among the Romans the rites of *lustratio*, or purification, were almost as elaborate as those of the Hindus or Jews. They consisted in the sprinkling of water with laurel branches, fumigating with fragrant boughs and herbs and sulphur, and stepping over fire. Fields and flocks, as well as armies and men, were purified in this way. Sheep, as Ovid has told us, were lustrated once a year at the festival of Palilia, with a view to preserving them from disease, contagion, and other evils. § The custom of the need-fire, *nydfir*, or *noth-feur* prevailed very extensively among the Celtic and Teutonic nations of Europe in their days of heathendom; and after they had been converted, it was prolonged far into the Christian age, notwithstanding the imperial edict published by Karl the Great against the kindling of such fires, *illos sacrilegos ignes quos*

* *Social Life of the Chinese*, 1868; chap. II, pp. 50, 1. The allusion to the customs in Bavaria and Turkestan have been borrowed from notes in page 232 on article in Fire in *Encycl. Britannica*, 9th edition. The author, however, does not quote his authorities.

† *Taylor's Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 398, edit. 1871; where he quotes from Casalis' *Basutos*, p. 258. What is mentioned in the text about the Persians is given on the authority of article on Fire, *Encycl. Britannica*.

‡ Ovid's *Fasti* IV, 735, &c. Cato, *De Re Rustica*, 141. A detailed account of Roman rites for purifying, &c. can be seen in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the heading *Lustratio*.

niedfyr vocant. Whenever the swine, sheep, or cattle began to sicken or die, need-fires were lighted, and the beasts were driven between them. If the fields shewed signs of barrenness, torches were lighted and carried round their boundaries; *faciunt etiam brandas et circumunt arva cum brandis.* Fires were lighted around wells and fountains to ensure that the water should be pure. It is recorded by Mr. Kemble that a need-fire was lighted by a Scotch farmer, on the occasion of a cattle epidemic, so recently as in 1826.* Amongst the Chinese the accessory of candles and incense is used in almost every ceremony practised by the Tauist priests for the treatment of disease. In one instance a paper charm is burnt in one of the candles, and its ashes, mingled with hot water, are drunk by the patient as a medicine. In another instance the god of medicine is worshipped, as usual, with candles and incense, and the ashes of the incense are then taken home, where they are carefully preserved and worshipped as the "Doctor," and incense and candles are daily burnt before them till the patient recovers.† In ancient Persia, the remedy for a woman who had been delivered of a still-born child, was "to drink gomez mixed with ashes, and "thus to wash over the grave within her womb." The ashes employed for this purpose were taken from the sacred fire of temples, the earthly representative of lightning, and the most powerful destroyer, as was supposed, of the demons of death and sickness.‡

It should be noticed in passing that the sprinkling of ashes on fields, and the fumigation of persons and things, barbarous as the origin of these customs may have been, are now fully recognized as useful remedial agents by scientific men. Every farmer knows the value of woodash as a restorative of the fertility of the soil; and the burning of sulphur fires as an agent for purifying the air and arresting the spread of infectious diseases is recognized by the medical profession. We can hardly doubt that these methods, like those of cauterization, &c. to which we have

* Kemble's *Saxons in England*, Vol. I, chap. XII, pp. 369, 2; edit. 1849. The words quoted from the *Capitularies of Charlemagne* are given in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, chap. IX, p. 258, edit. 1878. For further illustrations, see Braud's *Popular Antiquities*, pp. 127-8; Edit. 1877. See also pp. 167-9.

† Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, chap. V., p. 105, and p. 108; edit. 1868.

‡ *Vendidad*, Fargard, V, 51 (148). (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV, p. 62, edit. 1880). Gomez was the urine of the ox or bull, the efficacy of which as a purifier, has travelled from Persia to India. The sanctity of the ox was derived from the myth of the great primeval world bull, which has been already described in this essay.

already alluded, were suggested by customs and traditions bequeathed to us from savage or barbarous times. The following extract from a recent treatise might almost apply to a description of a medieval need-fire:—"All the fires should be lighted at one and the same time, and the sulphur sprinkled on them simultaneously. The piles of wood should be large heaps so as to last for several hours. They should be placed at distances of from 40 to 50 yards to surround a village, particularly to the windward of it, and in places where cholera has its habitat; and where several cases have occurred, they should be burnt at close intervals." *

Sometimes the aid of noise, (to which evil spirits have in all parts of the world been said to be especially averse), has been added to the silent influence of fire. The Patagonians, for example, at times of sickness fire off guns and revolvers, and throw burning brands into the air. In Upper Burma, muskets are fired off at the funerals of officials and great men to expel the death-demon from the neighbourhood; and in every part of Burma, British or Independent, immense rockets are fired off in the vicinity of the pyre, in which the body of a phoongy or Buddhist monk is burnt.† The Finns and Esthonians believed that lightning, the fiery sword of Ukko, destroyed the demons of sickness; and for this reason "the holy stones," which were believed to be chips from rocks struck in the sky, but were in fact the celts, arrow-heads and knives chipped and polished by their ancestors in the days of savagery, were carefully preserved in houses as safeguards of the health of the inmates. In China at times of eclipse the mandarins expel the demon, through whom the sun and moon, (the patron deities of the

* See Dr. Tuson's *Observations on the efficacy of Sulphur Fires in epidemics of Cholera* Brawn and Co, Calcutta, 1880.

† Forbes' *British Burma*, 1878, p. 97, and p 219. The allusions to the custom of the Patagonians and Finns are given on the authority of *Encycl. Britannica*, article on Fire. I have myself seen more than one instance in Burma of the importance attached to noise as a devil-driver. But I never met with any man who could tell me why a larger amount of fire and noise was considered necessary after the death of a monk or phoongy than after that of ordinary men. If we are to believe in the uniformity of human instincts, an explanation is furnished in Veudidad Fargard IV, 28 (86), which runs thus:—"If the dead one be a priest, "the Drug Nasu (the death demoness) rushes forth; if she falls on the "eleventh, she defiles the tenth." In other words the amount of mischief and pollution which the death-demon causes to survivors depends upon the rank and sanctity of the dead. The higher the being whom the devil has overcome, the stronger he must have been himself, and the remedies employed for expelling him from among the living must be strong in proportion.

empire and of the imperial dynasty), are cheated of their light by a censer of smoking incense, the lighting of large wax candles, and the vigorous beating of gongs and drums. The method of expelling epidemics, especially cholera, in the same country, is very similar. The people of the neighbourhood form a procession, and parade the alleys and streets carrying lamps, lanterns and torches, and making the air ring with the din of gongs and drums and with the yells and shouts of an excited mob. "It was asserted," says Mr. Doolittle, "that by this means the evil influences and epidemic diseases, which existed in the neighbourhood or district, would be surely driven away to another, and then from that neighbourhood to another and so on until the city and the suburbs became entirely free from their influence or presence." * The efficacy of noise, combined with fire, is not unknown in India. A raja or native prince, within my own knowledge, fired off his gun one evening at a *bhût*, or malignant spirit, whom he fancied he saw lurking behind a tree. In a certain district in the Punjab, where a cattle disease had broken out, "the people said that if several volleys were fired near the animals the disease would leave them." This was accordingly done, in order to satisfy the villagers. In the funeral ceremonies of great men in Madagascar, as in Burma, the death demon is expelled by the firing of muskets, as an ear-witness thus relates:—"Next morning we were startled by the regular firing of musketry gradually coming nearer, and on looking out I saw the funeral procession in the public road approaching my house." †

It is seldom that we meet with such explicit declarations of the remedial influence of fire as those to be found in the Vedas, —the most ancient extant poetry of the Hindus. A medicinal plant named *Pāṇdrū* is worshipped in one of the hymns as "the body of Agni, the deliverer, the slayer of Rakshasas (evil spirits), and the chaser away of diseases"; and this plant was invoked in incantations to save the dying or recall the dead to life. ‡ In another prayer for the recovery of a dying man, Agni is invoked in the following terms:—"In front of this sick man I place Agni, who knows how to carry him across." Let his breath,

* Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, edit. 1868. The expulsion of the eclipse is told in pp. 248-9, that of the epidemic in pp. 119, 20.

† On the volley-firing in the Punjab, see *Punjab Notes and Queries*, p. 27, December 1883. See also *Extracts from Punjab Census Report of 1881*, by Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, p. 119. For the Madagascar custom, see pp. 206-7 of *Madagascar Revisited*, by Rev. W. Ellis. Murray, 1867.

‡ Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 449. The passage quoted is the 28th verse in *Ātharva Veda*, VIII, 2.

"let his soul, let his sight come, and then his strength; let his body acquire sensation and stand firm upon its feet. Provide him, oh Agni, with breath and with light; restore him furnished with a body and with strength. Thou hast the knowledge of immortality; let him not depart, or become a dweller in the house of clay."* In like manner, another Vedic divinity, Brihaspati,—the god who presided at the altar of Agni and who is sometimes identified with Agni himself,—is in virtue of his fiery character praised as "the slayer of pain or disease," and in one hymn a legend is recorded of him, in which he rescues a man who had called in vain upon other gods to help him. In another place, plants are said to draw their life from Brihaspati,—which clearly connects his fiery nature with the health-giving principle.

The sun has been invoked as a healer of diseases in the same terms as earthly fire. In one of the Vedic hymns, from which we have just quoted, he is called upon to save a dying man:—"Let the Sun, the Lord, thus raise thee up by his rays" (*Atharva Veda*, V, 30, 15). In a later legend of the Hindus, Samba, a son of Krishna, was attacked with leprosy, under the curse of the quick-tempered hermit, Durvāsas. But by fasting, penance, and prayer, he obtained the favour of Sūrya (the sun), who drove the poison out of his blood by a more than ordinary impression of his pure and vitalizing rays. The worship of the sun as a god of health must at one time have prevailed very extensively in Europe among the Teutonic nations; for to this day in Pomerania the fever-stricken patient prays thrice turning towards the sun at sunrise:—"Dear Sun, come down soon, and take the seventy fevers from me. In the name of God the Father, &c."† In India, in ancient times, the first streaks of sunrise, which divide day from night, were worshipped as a dual deity, under the name of the twin Asvins, "the horsemen-pair." Throughout the Vedic hymns these deities are celebrated as the physicians of gods and men,—the wonder-workers, who

* *Atharva Veda*, V, 30, 12—14; quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 442. The allusions to Brihaspati are in Vol. V. p. 279-281. The man whom Brihaspati rescued from death is called Trita.

† Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, 269. ed. 1871; where he quotes from Wuttke's *Volksaberglaube*, p. 150. Mr. Tylor is not, however, responsible for the interpretation given in the text. He simply informs us of the fact, without offering any explanation of the belief which could have prompted the utterance of such a singular prayer. A similar example of the mixture of worship of the sun with that of the Trinity may be seen in the poetic Edda, in the Song of the Sun. See Thorpe's *Edda*, Part I, p. 125; verse 76.

restore sight to the blind, activity to the lame, health to the sick, strength to the infirm, and youth to the aged; and a large cycle of legends has gathered round their name on account of the cures and deliverances they are said to have wrought. * The multifarious and circumstantial character of these legends,—the largest collection connected with any one deity that is to be found in the Vedic hymns,—has attracted the attention of European scholars, by whom various explanations have been offered. Professor Benfey, (following Dr. Kuhn and Professor Müller), is content to treat these legends merely as myths of the orthodox or solar type, that is, as personified descriptions of those changes in the aspect of the sky, which accompany the daily approach of dawn. The late Dr. Muir considers, very justly, that “this allegorical interpretation is not likely to be correct, as it is difficult to suppose that the physical phenomena in question should have been alluded to under such a variety of names and circumstances”; and he thinks it is more probable that the poets, who wrote the Asvin hymns, “merely refer to certain legends, which were popularly current, of interventions of the Asvins on behalf of the person whose names are mentioned.” No doubt these legends were popularly current. But this does not explain what made them popular, or what brought them into existence, or why they were fastened upon the two Asvins in preference to any other deity. Professor Goldstücker considered “the myth of the Asvins as one of that class of myths, in which two distinct elements, the cosmical and the human or historical, have been gradually blended into one.” He believed that the Asvins were originally a pair of “horsemen or warriors of great renown, who inspired their contemporaries with awe by their wonderful deeds, and more especially by their medical skill;” (this is the historical element); and that these same horsemen “were in course of time translated to the companionship of the gods,” where they became invested with the distinctively solar characters which we find ascribed to them in the Vedic hymns: (this is the cosmical element). † The possibility of such a transformation from the historical to the solar is most readily granted. ‡ But the old

* An analogue to this twin deity, the Asvins, is furnished by the Vedas themselves in the person of Yama, which simply means the Twin or Duo and which was originally a personification of the twilight, morning or evening. The Asvin legends are summed up in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* Vol. V, edit. 1870, pp. 243-248.

† This brief review of the opinions of European scholars is taken from Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 248, and pp. 255-7.

‡ The many instances, which might be quoted, of historical persons becoming invested with solar characters after death, and even during life,

scholastic maxim, *entia non sunt multiplicanda*, must be applied to the interpretation of myths not less rigorously than to any other field of scientific research. Now, there is no necessity in this case for supposing that the Asvins were a pair of historical knights, who were deified after death and translated to the sun on account of their medical skill; for, (as I have proved already), the possession of healing properties is itself a solar attribute; and this is what mythologists of the Aryan school have overlooked. Moreover there is no parallel in legend or history of mounted warriors becoming distinguished in the tame and peaceful art of medicine, which is invariably the function of priests or wizards. On the other hand there is a peculiar fitness in ascribing healing powers of the first order to that particular aspect of the sun's career which is personified by the two Asvins: for as in earthly ceremonies it was only the newly made fire that was considered pure and efficacious for removing the unclean, so in the recognition of heavenly fire as a healer of diseases, the first need of praise was due to the earliest and purest rays of the newly arisen sun,—“the twin horsemen or pervaders,” whose watchful providence compelled the retreat of night with all her sickly dews and dark retinue of malignant spirits. It is to the *rising* sun, as the reader may have observed, that the Pomeranian peasant addresses his prayer to be relieved from sickness. Nor is the faith, which is implied in the peasant's prayer without some foundation in fact. For most persons must have felt the cheering and reviving effects of sunrise after a long and painful night; and it is well known that the last hours of the night are those in which

show how rash it is to reduce every traditional hero of antiquity to a solar myth, as the modern school of mythologists is so fond of doing. The historical David, King of Israel, has many features in common with the solar myth: “he was ruddy and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to:” (1 *Samuel*, XVI, 12). Now it is well known that a true born Israelite is universally sallow and never ruddy. The semi-historical Samson, whose very name signifies the *Shiner*, is possessed of “invincible locks” on which his strength depends, just as the sun's energy depends upon his beams, which in all languages have been compared to hair. Hamlet, in seeking to extol his murdered father, begins at once to divest him with solar and other divine characters:

- “See what a grace was seated on this brow;
- “Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
- “An eye like Mars to threaten and command;
- “A station like the herald Mercury
- “New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill: &c.”

Hamlet, III, IV, 55-9.

The facility with which historical personages can be invested with solar and other divine characteristics is well set forth in *Asiatic Studies*, by Sir A. Lyall.

deaths most commonly occur, and that the pulse begins to beat more slowly by several degrees when daylight sets in.

The purifying and healing effects of the sun, especially in cases of leprosy, are widely recognized in modern India. It is customary for persons attacked with leprosy to observe the Sun's day or Sunday, (*Aditya-war*, which has been shortened to *Itwar*), with a kind of fast, and to make offerings to the sun on every day of the week. It is recorded of the founder of the Bhinga family in the Bahraich district, Oudh, that he pronounced a curse against the temple of Bâlârka, (the child sun, as the name implies,) because he (the Bhinga ancestor) had not been "thoroughly cleansed of his leprosy even after he had undergone penances before that shrine." * Thus it is to the infant or newly arisen sun that healing powers have been specially ascribed in modern India, as they were to the horsemen-pair, who represented the first streaks of dawn, in ancient India.

The sun, under the name of Airyamân, the god of heavenly light, is very prominently recognized in the *Vendidad* as a god of healing. When the Evil Spirit (Angra Mainyu), the author of the bad creation, created 99,999 diseases, the Good Spirit commissioned Airyamân to visit the earth and administer the needed remedies. The sun-god obeyed the call, and came saying :— "I drive away the disease, the rottenness, and the infection, which Angra Maniyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals." †

The examples hitherto quoted relate chiefly to the curing of disease or the removal of ceremonial uncleanness. The instances which we are now going to quote will relate chiefly to the expulsion of devils. This is only another aspect of the same fact : for to remove an impurity is the same thing as to expel the demon who causes it. The three great occasions in human life, when it is most necessary to attract good spirits and to banish evil ones, are births, burials and marriages. For the washing away of ceremonial

* *History of the Bhinga Raj Family*, p. 12. by Raja Uday Pratap Singh, Calcutta, 1883. Since the Mahomedan conquest of Bahraich, the temple of Bâlarka has been converted into the mausoleum of Saivad Salar Masand Ghazi who is worshipped by the Mahomedans as a Saint. This double origin of the shrine explains the reason why the tomb is, to this day, worshipped by Hindus and Mahomedans alike.

† *Vendidad*, Fargard, XXII. 21. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol IV, p. 229. But the translator, Mr. James Darmesteter, has given no explanation of the fact that Airyaman was invoked as a god of healing. All that he says in his preliminary remarks, p. 229, is that "he appears here in the character of a healing god, which is derived in a very natural manner from his primitive and general characters." It is not clear how the healing art can be easily deduced from such vague data.

pollution water has, for obvious reasons, been more frequently used than fire, especially among the more backward races. But fire has been widely used as an accessory element ; and, whenever the two agents have been brought into comparison, precedence has generally been given to fire. •

Among the ceremonies connected with the birth of children, we will first allude to those in which the mother is the person primarily concerned. In Burma, after the birth of a child, the woman is kept for three days at least lying between lighted logs. In the Punjab, among the caste of Jats, a fire is kept constantly lighted in her room ; and a pitcher of water is placed near at hand. In India generally, among all the respectable castes, it is the custom to keep a fire burning night and day in the room, and another fire smouldering at the door of the house in which the woman is lying, so that no evil influence may be permitted to enter. In ancient Persia great importance was attached to a fire being lighted in the room, at the time when a child is born, as the following extract will shew :—"The rule is this, that the "labour of childbirth is not to be accomplished at night, except "with the light of a fire, or the stars, or the moon upon it ; for "great opposition is connected with it, and over the soul of him "who works in the dark, there is more preponderance of the evil "spirit." In "the churching of women," as practiced in the Latin church, fire is still used as the symbol or medium of purity : for the woman, who desires to receive a blessing after childbirth, must kneel on the steps of the chancel holding a lighted taper in her hand. In the protestant churches the old formalism connected with the use of fire has been dropped. But in Norway and Sweden, traces of pagan rites may still be found in the remoter villages, though even there they have now become almost obsolete. In such places, as the woman goes out to be churched, a live coal is thrown after her by her friends, to expel the trolls who might bewitch her on the way. * The feast of Candlemas is still called the feast of the Purification of the Virgin,—which shows clearly that the lighting of torches and candles, which used to be carried in procession on that day in England up to the second year of Edward VI, had its origin in a sense of the necessity of fire for removing the evil influence attendant on child birth. †

* I became acquainted with the Burmese custom from having spent some years in that province. The Jat custom is described in a paper by Sirdar Gur Dayal Singh, C. S., read before the Asiatic Society in Calcutta on 2nd May, 1883. The extract from the Persian book is from *Shayast La Shayast*, XII, 7 : (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, p. 312. The Swedish custom is alluded to in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*. Vol II, p. 178.

† Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, pp. 22-7, Edit. 1877.

In describing the use of fire in funeral ceremonies we must distinguish between the rite of cremation, by which in some countries the corpse is disposed of, and the fire and water ceremonies which are performed immediately afterwards for the purification of the living. It was believed in early times (and the belief is still current in backward races), that when a man dies, the power of death threatens from the corpse, as from a stronghold, the whole world of the living. "From the dead" as the Vendidad puts it, "it defiles the living, and from the living, it rushes upon the living." The first thing then to be done after a burial is to expel the contagion of death. In Thibet, the mourners returning from a funeral stand before a fire, and wash their hands with warm water, holding them over hot coals and repeating sacred texts. In Tartary, in pre-Islamite times, the clothes and property of the dead could not be appropriated by the survivors, till they had been passed between two fires. In ancient Rome, after the completion of the funeral rites, the mourners sprinkled themselves with scented water, and stepped over fire. The customs of the Israelites must have been based upon a similar instinct; for otherwise it would be difficult to understand the excessive importance attached to a bath, in which "the ashes of a red heifer" were mixed with the water; (*Numbers XIX*, and *Hebrews IX*, 13). In China the funeral rites consist of a long series of ceremonies, in which lighted candles and the fumigation of incense hold a prominent place. About half the Vendidad is taken up with describing ceremonies for the removal of uncleanness caused by contact with dead bodies. * But we have no space to do more than quote the description of the death-demoness herself, for whose expulsion these rites were established:—"Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras." The burial towers of the Persians were called Dakhmas. "On these (says the Vendidad) the fiends take food, as men in the material world eat cooked meal and cooked meat. Thus from the Dakhmas arise the infectious diseases, itch, hot-fever, humours, cold-fever, rickets, and hair untimely white. There death has most power on man from the hour when the sun is down." Till within about 300 years ago it was the custom in England to keep candles burning night and day over the bodies of the dead, and occasionally to carry torches and lights with the hearse into the burial ground. *

* The Chinese ceremonies are alluded to in Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, Chaps. VI and VII. Allusions to the Thibetan and Tartar rites

In the ceremonies connected with marriage, fire, with or without water, has been widely used. We shall quote examples from two countries only—China and Greece, neither of which could have borrowed anything from the other. In China the uses of fire in the long list of nuptial ceremonies are almost endless. Candles must be lighted, and incense burnt before the ancestral tablets, at the time of betrothal. The bride's outfit, as we have shewn in another place, is most carefully sifted over burning coals. On the day of the marriage, a lighted lamp and candles are placed on the bridal bedstead; and "this light, though in broad daylight, is regarded as peculiarly efficacious in keeping away evil spirits." The bridal procession is led off amid the explosion of crackers; and is headed by men carrying each a large lighted candle. The bride pays homage to the fire of the hearth on arriving at her new home. When the bride and bridegroom kneel before the ancestral tablets, a lighted candle is placed at each end of the table on which the tablets stand. At the first wedding dinner, lighted candles are made to shed their flame over the festive board, in broad daylight, &c.* In Greece, after the completion of the sacrifices to the gods of marriage, both bride and bridegroom were bathed in water fetched from a fountain, to which some exceptional sanctity was attached. The marriage procession was accompanied with nuptial torches; and in some places, it was customary to burn the axle of the carriage on its arrival at the bridegroom's house. The bride was conducted into the house by the bridegroom's mother who bore a lighted torch. One of the closing ceremonies was the dedication of the bride to the sacred hearth-flame of the new family, of which she now became a member.†

The baptism of newborn babes, by fire, or water, or both, is common to all religions. The object for which it was originally

are given in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, edit. 1871, p. 395, and p. 393. The Roman rites are described in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under *Furnus*. The description of the Drug Nasu and Dakhmas is quoted from Vendidad, Fargard VII, 2, and 56. (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV, p. 75, and 88). A very good account of the Parsi burial towers, or Towers of Silence on the Malabar hills, is given in the Cornhill Magazine, Oct. 1883. On the use of torches in English funerals, &c., see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, pp. 440 ff, and pp. 466 ff.

* Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, chaps. II and III. Mr. Tylor (in *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 425, edit. 1871) alludes to "the lifting of the bride in China over burning coals," and quotes Doolittle as his authority. This however is an oversight: it was not the bride, but the clothes of the bride, which were lifted over coals.

† Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the heading *Marriage*. An account of the use once made of torches in English marriages may be seen in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, p. 391.

established was to remove from the child the natural taint contracted in the maternal womb, and thus to expel the evil one, to whose agency the pollution was ascribed. But physical pollution implied, in a less or greater degree, moral guilt, as the same devil was the author of both. Hence the notion of birth-sin was gradually substituted for that of birth-taint, and by this means baptism acquired at last the dignity of a purely ethical rite, such as it now is in the creed of Christendom. "Behold I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me,"—this saying of the Psalmist, whether we interpret it in the lower or higher sense, embodies the sentiment, out of which baptismal rites in all lands have sprung up.* The following extract from *Shāyast-La-Shāyast* will shew what baptism meant to an ancient Persian:—"When the infant shall be born, the woman (or nurse) shall take it up, and make the fire burn high. For three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man or woman. They are to triturate a little sulphur in the sap of a plant and smear it over the child."† In China, at the present day, as a missionary and close observer of their customs has remarked, "it is believed that the child at the time of its birth is exposed to some very unpropitious influences,

* Psalms of David, 61, 5. There is no reason to doubt that the psalmist in this verse alludes to birth-sin as much as, or possibly more than, to birth-taint. But verse 7, which comes almost immediately afterwards, takes us suddenly back to the ceremonial washings of the Levitical law: "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow." This psalm is said to have been written by king David to express the remorse he felt (after Nathan's reproof) for the murder of Uriah the Hittite. In II *Samuel*, XII, 20, we are told that as soon as David learnt that the child born to him by Uriah's wife was dead, "he arose from the earth, and washed and anointed himself and changed his apparel, and came into the house of the Lord." In other words, he underwent a thoroughly Levitical lustration by bathing in water, smearing himself with scents, changing his dress, and presenting himself before the priests; and in this way he considered himself cleansed from the taint of the murder of Uriah. Ovid had learnt to consider a water-bath but a poor remedy for the pollution of manslaughter:—

Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cedis
Fuminea tolli posse putatis aqua.

And Shakespear has repeated the sentiment of Ovid in still grander terms:

Could all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No, this my hand would rather
The multitudinous sea incarnadine,
Making the green one red.

† *Shāyast La-Shāyast*, chap. X, 15. (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, p. 322; edit. 1880).

"which, unless prevented in due time, will certainly cause its death." On the third day, therefore, a paper charm on which some sacred text has been written by the priest, is burnt, "and its ashes are put into the water, in which the child is washed as a kind of purification." Afterwards, when the child is one month old, the birth-hair, (in which some traces of the original taint are supposed to reside), is shaved off in front of the ancestral tablets, while incense and candles are kept burning close at hand.* In some parts of the Malay peninsula, as soon as a child is born, it is immersed in the nearest stream and, on the return to the house, it is passed several times over a fire, on which fragrant wood has been thrown. In Madagascar a fire is kept burning for several successive days in the room where the child lies; the child is then carried out of the house in its best clothes and brought back again to its mother, both times being carefully lifted over the fire kept burning at the door of the house. Among the Greeks, the ceremony of lustration, which they called *Amphidromia*, was performed when the child was about seven days old, and consisted chiefly in the babe being carried round the fire of the domestic hearth and undergoing the sprinkling of water.† In the old religion of Mexico the ceremony of baptism had risen almost to the same ethical level as the rite which has been substituted in its place by the Spanish conquerors. Fires were kept constantly burning from the time of birth, and on the fourth day the child was bade to receive the life-giving water and passed four times through the fire. "The lips and bosom of the child were sprinkled with water, and the Lord was implored to permit the holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world; so that the child might be born anew."‡ The superiority of fire to water as an emblem or medium of the divine grace is most distinctly announced in the New Testament; but fire baptism was never developed into an established rite in the Christian Church, except among a few obscure sects in the East. It should be noted, however, that in the Roman Church, all baptism is, by implication at least, baptism by fire.

* Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, chap. IV. pp. 86-88, edit. 1868. The cutting off of the birth-hair is practised all over India, and by the Negro races in Africa.

† The Malay ceremony is alluded to in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, edit. 1871, p. 390: that of Madagascar in the same volume and page.

‡ Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. I, p. 63, edit. 1860. The author quotes from two eye-witnesses. A portion of the Mexican rite is told in Tylor, Vol. II, p. 394.

rather than by water. In the office of Holy Saturday the water of the baptismal font is blessed for the entire year, which is to follow, by thrice dipping into it the Paschal candle, the light of which is intended to symbolize, in a spiritual sense, the light of the world. The very spark with which the candle is lighted is struck by the priest from a flint, which is said to typify the son of God, the corner stone of the church, *Filius tuus angularis scilicet lapidem*. As the candle is being dipped into the font, a prayer is offered up by the priest, that "this fire may fertilize the whole substance of this water, and make it fruitful for the regeneration of souls"; *totum hujus aquæ substantiam regenerandi fecundet effectum*. The metaphor implied in the word *fecundet*, by which now or spiritual birth is substituted for physical, takes us back to the old philosophy of fire and life, more ancient by thousands of years than the Roman Church and even more widely extended. In Scotland, as an eye-witness relates, the pagan rite of fire-baptism survived the establishment of Christian baptism by water, to which it was attached as a sequel:—"On their return from church they take the newly baptized infant, and vibrate it gently three or four times over a flame, saying thrice, Let the flame consume thee now or never."

The purity of fire in general, and especially of the public and perpetual fires on which the life-flame of states or nations was believed to depend, was attested by the establishment in various parts of the world of vestal priests and virgin priestesses as guardians of the sacred flames. In ancient Rome the eternal fire of Vesta was watched by a sisterhood of virgins, each of whom on admission within the precincts of the *atrium* was bound by the most solemn vow of chastity, the violation of which was punished by burying her alive in the ground called *campus sceleratus*, into which the corpses of the worst criminals were thrown. In Mexico, in times preceding the Spanish conquest, the sacred fires were tended by the youth of both sexes, who were selected from a very tender age. The girls were entrusted to the charge of priestesses of the sun; "while the boys were drilled in the routine of monastic discipline, decorating the shrines of the gods with flowers, feeding the sacred fires, and taking part in the religious chants and festivals."† In Cuzco, the old capital of Peru, the great temple of Coriancha was tended by a numerous sisterhood of vestals, who were known as the virgins of the sun. "These were young maidens, who at a tender age were taken from their homes and introduced into

* Brand's *Pontifical Antiquities*, p. 338. Edit. 1877.

† Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, chap. III, p. 58, edit. 1860.



"convents, where they were placed under the care of matrons, who had grown grey within their walls. From the moment that they entered the establishment they were cut off from all connection with the world, even with their own family and friends. It was their duty, above all, to watch over the sacred fire obtained at the festival of Raymi."* The maintenance of the perpetual fire of the Demaras of South Africa is entrusted by the chiefs to their own daughters, so long as they remain unmarried. A legend in the "*Chronicles of Japan*" relates that a plague once fell upon the people which slew more than half of their number; and that in order to remove this plague, the Mikado transferred the altars of the sun-goddess into new temples specially built for the purpose, and appointed two virgin-priestesses to tend them.† In the county of Kildare, Ireland, the "everlasting fire" was preserved by "holy virgins called Ingheaw Andagha, or daughters of fire," down to the time of the Reformation; and these, like the daughters of the Demara chiefs, were often the first ladies of the land.‡ The close resemblance between the vestal institutions of Rome and those of Cuzco has led Mr. Tylor to suspect that Garcilaso de la Vega, the Peruvian historian, who was himself of Inca blood, has drawn upon his imagination in describing the institutions of Cuzco, with a view to raising the reputation of his ancestral city to the level of that of Rome.§ But the numerous other examples which we have now brought forward would tend to shew that the resemblance was due to the uniformity of human instincts rather than to invention on the part of a too patriotic historian.

* Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, chap. III, p. 105.

† *Mythology and Religious worship of the ancient Japanese*; article II in Westminster Review, No. CVII, July 1878, p. 39. The allusion to the Demara custom is taken from *Encyc. Britannica*, 9th edition, article on Fire; page 229, note 1.

‡ General Foulong's *Rivers of Life*, p. 339, Vol. I, 1883.

§ Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, chap. IX, n. 250-2: edit. 1878. The points of resemblance which have excited Mr. Tylor's scepticism are 4 in number: (a) The establishment of vestal virgins bound by the strictest rule of chastity; (b) the existence of a perpetual fire which they were appointed to watch; (c) the use of a concave mirror for relighting the fire, if it went out; (d) the rule by which a virgin, who broke the vow of chastity, was buried alive. There is abundant analogy for the three first, as I have shown in this and the previous essay. I see nothing extraordinary in the fourth. Burying alive is not an unusual way of disposing of the worst criminals. Outside of Lucknow there is a monument built on the spot where a notorious dacoit was buried alive during the reign of Wajid Ali Shâh, the last king of Oudh. Burying alive as a punishment for criminals is alluded to in the *Edâ*. See translation by Mr. Thorpe. Part II, p. 124: Trübner's Edit. 1866.

In fact, the more we study the beliefs and customs of mankind in regard to the purity of fire or any of its other functions, the more convinced we feel of the fundamental similarity of the human mind and of the impossibility of using such resemblances as ethnical landmarks either for the so-called Aryan or the non-Aryan nations. To the fathers of speculation, fire, or its great heavenly archetype the sun, was a spiritual conception, and not as with us, a merely physical fact :—

They see with other eyes than ours ; where we
Behold a sun, they spy a Deity.

"It grieves the sun indeed," said the Persian prophet, "to shine upon a man defiled ; it grieves the moon ; it grieves the stars."* The ancient Hindu prayed to Agni, the fire-deity, "to forgive whatever sins he may have committed through human weakness and to make him guiltless towards Aditi," the infinite celestial light.† The Incas of Peru confessed their sins to the sun, and prayed to the waters to carry them away to the ocean : "Oh, thou river, receive this day the sins which I have confessed unto the sun : carry them down to the sea and let them never more appear,"‡ To the Greek or Roman of ancient times, the eternal fire of the hearth was "a formidable divinity, charged to watch over what passes in the interior of houses and to punish mankind." Virgil could find no better way of blackening the name of Sinon, than by making the perjured impostor appeal to the eternal inviolable flames of heaven as witnesses of his integrity :

Vos eterni ignes et non violabile vestrum
Testor numen, ait.

Æneid, Book II.

In the Latin church, (as I have heard), no new cross can be consecrated, until lighted tapers have been placed at its base. Within our own day a furious controversy has been waged in the English Church as to whether lighted candles can be allowed on the communion table or not. There is, in fact, no age or country, in which priests and teachers have not laboured with fervent zeal to feed the great fire-tradition of the world.

IV.

As phallic fire, (heat without light), was the mainspring of life in the animal body, so the pure ethereal fire, (light without

* *Vendidad, Fargard IX. 41.*

† *Rig Veda, IV. 144.* Hindus of respectable caste consider it impious at the present day to put their feet over a fire to warm them.

‡ *Tylor's Primitive Cultures, Vol. II, p. 394.*

heat), was the essential property of all such souls as were deemed worthy of survival in a higher sphere. The belief in a future life is common to all creeds; but the modes of the soul's survival have been supposed to be very various. All modes, however, can be classified under two main headings. Either the soul migrates after death into other bodily forms, or it assumes a separate incorporeal existence in the world of spirits. It is with the last doctrine only that we are now concerned; and in connection with this we have to show that fire or light is not only the substance of which exalted souls are said to be made, but the chief characteristic of the region assigned for their residence.

First, as to the composition of souls. In the Vedic hymns we are told that Agni (fire) "is the nave of immortality," *amritasya nabhih*. If we expand this metaphor, the meaning is that fire is like the nave of a wheel, from which the rays of immortality radiate to the souls of men, illuminating them with its own properties of purity and light, (*Rig Veda*, III, 17, 4). In the institutes of Manu it is said that the pious Brahman "will go to the highest region by a straight path in an irradiated form." In one of the Vedic liturgies it is said that "men will become immortal "by knowledge or by work,—that knowledge which is Agni, or "that work which is Agni," (*Satapatha Brahmana*, X, 4, 3, 9). In other words, those persons whose souls have been enlightened with the flame of divine knowledge, or who have performed the fire sacrifices according to the appointed rites, will themselves acquire the nature of fire and become immortal in the future life. On the other hand, (as the same text goes on to show), "those "who do not so know, or who do not perform this rite, are in—"deed born again, but become again and again death's food"; that is, they are reborn in other bodies, and thus become subject to new deaths and to all the evils attendant on bodily existence. Such was the creed of the ancient Hindus.* That of the ancient Persians, their kinsfolk, was very similar. We are told in the *Bundahis*, (Chap. XVII, 9), that "the breathing souls, that is, "the souls of men awaiting birth, are lodged in those (mundane) "fires,—a counterpart of the body of man, when it forms in the "womb of the mother, and a soul from the spirit-world settles "within it, which controls the body when living:" and we are further told in the same text, that "when that body dies,

* This is one of the few passages in Vedic literature, which contains the germ of the doctrine of transmigration. This doctrine received its greatest prominence in the post-Vedic age under the teaching of Buddha. In the Institutes of Manu this doctrine had begun to be prominent, but the Vedas themselves scarcely recognize it.

"the body mingles with the earth, and the soul goes back to the "spirit," fire returning to fire, and clay to clay. The traditions of the Egyptian priesthood, which were current under the name of Hermes Trismegistus, teach us that at the moment of death "our intelligence, one of God's subtle thoughts, escapes the body's "dross, puts on its fiery tunic again, and floats henceforth in space." In the philosophy of the ancient Germans the soul of a child about to be born was believed to enter into it from above in a ray of lightning; and at the time of death to return to the upper world in the flames of the funeral pyre, which was lighted with a spark struck from the hammer of Thor.* In the language of Japan the word for soul is compounded of *tama*, which means precious, *shi* breath, and *hi* fire. Hence the soul of the dead was the precious breath-fire, which survived the body.† Every reader will recall the lines of Pope, in which the dying Christian thus addresses his soul :—

• Vital spark of heavenly flame,
Quit, oh quit, this mortal frame. •

According to St. Augustine the soul of a saint, when it reaches the upper world, is made of light, and excels the sun in brightness to the same degree that the sun itself excels any other celestial body.‡ The folklore of England is full of legends of what were called Fetch-lights, or Deadmen's candles. These lights were supposed to be the souls of the dead, and were said to go before the hearse and shew the very spot in the burial ground in which the body was to be interred.§

Next, as to the abode of souls. In most of the more advanced creeds of antiquity there is a judge of the dead, and two distinct worlds are assigned for the residence of departed souls,—a region

* See *Fire Burial among our Germanic Forefathers*, by Karl Blind; edit. 1875, p. 12.

† The reference to Japan is made on the authority of a statement in page 43 of the *Westminster Review*, Art II, July 1874, on the Ancient Chronicles of Japan. The allusion to Hermes Trismegistus is taken from Art. on Fire in *Encycl. Brit.* 9th edition. The Egyptian idea of ascribing intelligence or wisdom to fire, and making this faculty, rather than any other, the immortal part of our nature, is a point frequently insisted on in the *Indian Vedas*. Of Agni it is said that "he sees and knows all worlds, knows the recesses of heaven, the divine ordinances, the races or births of gods and men, &c." See Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 215. Immortality is everywhere said to be the reward of knowledge. "The stars are the houses of the gods; who ever knows this possesses houses," that is, acquires the divine nature. — *Taittiriya Brahmana*, 1, 5, 2, 6.

‡ This is given on the authority of Mr. Growse's *Ramayana*, p. 16, note (2).

§ Braud's *Popular Antiquities*, p. 710. Edit. 1877.

of light and happiness to those in whom the spirit of fire presides, and a dark underworld for the rest. In the ancient creed of India the judge of the dead was Yama; and the difference between the two worlds was expressed in the maxim:—"heaven is light, and hell is darkness: (*Mahābhārata*, XIV, 6969). Elsewhere it is said:—"Let him depart, O Yama, to those holy sages born of the fervour of meditation, to those sages versed in all knowledge, who guard the sun," (*Rig Veda*, X, 154,5). In another hymn (X, 88,15) it is said:—"The rays of the sun are the pious; the light which is above, is Prajapati or the heavenly world." In a third hymn (X, 88,15), the Pitris, or souls of ancestors, are said "to have adorned the sky with stars;" that is, they are themselves the stars.

"Where there is eternal light, in the world where the sun is placed, in that immortal, imperishable world, place me O Soma!"

Where king Vairasvati reigns, where the secret place of heaven is, where these mighty waters are, there make me immortal!

Where life is free, in the third heaven of heavens, where the worlds are radiant, there make me immortal!

Where wishes and desires are, where the place of the bright sun is, where there is freedom and delight, there make me immortal!"*

Rig Veda, IX, 113, 7-10.

In the old religion of Persia, which was ethnically allied to that of the ancient Hindus, a similar doctrine prevailed. There were two distinct worlds for departed souls, the one bright and luminous answering to the good creation of Ahura Mazda; and the other dark and loathsome, answering to the bad creation of Angra Mainyu, and fit only to be the receptacle of the impure and evil. It was prescribed by the authority of the priests that a fire should be lighted at the time of death and made to burn high, so that the righteous soul might alight upon it on first leaving the body. "From thence it goes out to the stars, then out to the moon, then to the sun." Last of all it reaches the Eternal Lights in the highest heaven, its appropriate abode. On the other hand "hell was in the middle of the earth; for it was there where the evil spirit pierced the earth and rushed in upon it, &c;" and it was to this region that souls devoid of the spirit of fire, that is, possessing no purity or light, were consigned. "Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious hell, it is revealed that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand, and the stench is fit to cut with a knife."†

* These verses are translated in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 306, ed. 1870. They are also translated by Professor Max Müller in *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I, p. 46. The translation given in the text is the latter.

† See *Shāyast La Shāyast*, chap. XII, 5; *Bundahish*, chap. III, 27; and chap. XXVIII, 47.

Similar beliefs have prevailed in nations having no ethnical connection with either India or Persia. In Egypt the souls of the departed were weighed in the balance (a representation of which may be seen on every mummy case) by Osiris, the judge of the dead, some passing into the dark under-world in the west, others ascending to the bright sun in heaven. * It was believed in Mexico that the common herd passed away to a lower world called Mictlan; while the heroes who fell in battle, and the men and babes who were slain in sacrifice, "went at once into the presence of the sun, whom they accompanied, with songs and choral dances, in his bright progress through the heavens."† In Peru it was thought that the low castes were consigned to the dark kingdom of Cupay fixed in the centre of the earth, or migrated into new bodies on earth; while the Incas and the nobles returned to the sun, from which they had originally come.‡ The Greek and Roman ideas of a future life were summed up in the following couplet :—

Corpus terra tegit; tumulum circumvolat umbra ;
Maues Orcus habet ; spiritus astra petit.

Thus while the ghost haunted the tomb, and the Manes went to the lower world, the spirit took its flight to the stars. The reader need scarcely be reminded of the scriptural expression,— "the righteous will shine as the stars." •

Such notions were not confined, however, to the more advanced nations. The degraded Australian has starred the sky with the fabled benefactors of his savage race,—the discoverers of fire, of the ant-pupas, and of the eggs of the loan-bird,—in the same way as the Hindu has decked his firmament with the Seven Rishis and the Greek or Roman with his deified heroes and ancestors; *sic itur ad astra*. There is a striking correspondence between the notions held by savage and cultured nations regarding the Milky Way, that lies across the sky like a road. "The Basutos call it the way of the gods. The Ojib call it the way of spirits, by which the souls of deified mortals go up to heaven. It is known among the North American races as the Path of the Master of Life, or as the Path of Spirits, or as the Road of Souls where the ghosts of the dead travel to the land beyond the grave, and where their camp fires may be seen blazing as brighter stars. These savage imaginations of the Milky Way fit in with the Lithuanian

* *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, by Bunsen, Vol. IV, p. 618 ff. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. V, p. 310, *sim*.

† For the Mexican doctrine, see Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. I, p. 52; and Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 87, Edit. 1871.

‡ The Peruvian doctrine is alluded to in Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, Vol. I, p. 85.

myth of the Road of Birds, at the extremity of which the souls of the dead, supposed to flit away like birds at the time of death, dwell free and happy. That souls dwell in the galaxy was taught by the Pythagoreans, who maintained that the phantasms which appear to men in dreams came down to earth from this as their favourite retreat. It was also familiar to the Manichæan sect of Christians, whose fancy transferred pure souls to this wonderful column of light." *

That the sun is the region in which exalted souls will enjoy eternal bliss, is a doctrine proclaimed by modern theosophists not less fervently than by those of ancient times. Mr. Isaac Taylor, in his "Physical Theory of Another Life" has laboured to prove that the sun is not merely the astronomical centre to the planets revolving round it, but the heavenly centre and final meeting-place of all those souls, who by faith and good works have acquired an ethereal and incorruptible body, after having completed, within the corruptible organism of the flesh, a probationary period of residence on their respective planets. Science has long been puzzled with the question as to the means by which the light and heat of the sun are maintained and renewed. A French writer (Louis Figuier) comes to the rescue with a theory, which shall be stated in his own words :—" Thus, we find, that neither astronomy nor physical science offers us any satisfactory explanation of the constant maintenance of solar radiation. Common sense tells us that this furnace, constantly in activity, must be as constantly fed : but science is as yet unable to discover the nature and source of its aliment. Here, where science places nothing, we venture to place something. In our belief solar radiation is maintained by the continuous, unbroken succession of souls in the sun. These pure and burning spirits are perpetually replacing the emanations perpetually sent through space by the sun to the globes which surround him. Thus we complete that uninterrupted circle, which binds together all the creatures of nature by the links of a common chain, and attaches the visible to the invisible world. The sun, the centre of the planetary aggregation, the constant source of heat and light, which sends forth motion, sensation and life upon the earth, is in our belief the final dwelling place of purified perfected souls, which have attained their most exquisite subtlety. They are entirely devoid of material alloy ; they are pure

* Taylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 324 : edit, 1871. In the creed of the Ancient Persians the Milky Way was called Vanant, and was believed to stand directly over hell in order to keep the demons in awe : See Haug's *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 217 : Triebner's Edition, 1878.

"spirits, who dwell in the midst of the blazing atmosphere and the burning masses which compose the sun. From their throne of fire, these souls, all intelligence and activity, behold the marvellous spectacle of the march of all the planetary globes, which compose the solar world, through space. Placed in the centre of this vast world, understanding the secrets of nature and all the mysteries of the universe, they are in possession of perfect happiness, of absolute wisdom, and of illimitable knowledge." * When we compare these theories with the belief of the wild Alapaches of Florida, who hold that the sun is the bright dwelling place of departed chiefs and warriors,† and with the doctrine announced by the Brahmans of India some 3,000 years ago, "that the rays of the sun are the pious," we must admit that there is not much difference after all, so far, at least, as these speculations are concerned, between the yellow savage of America, the dusky fire-priest of India, and the white philosopher of Europe.

What fire baptism was to the soul on entering the body, fire burial was to the soul on leaving it. By the one it was purified (as far as possible) for its sojourn in the flesh; by the other it was separated from the flesh and transmitted, in a pure and more perfect form, to the world of spirits. In many of the Vedic hymns fire burial or cremation is not merely described, but explained. "When thou hast matured him, oh Agni, then send him to the Fathers, * * * * . As for his unborn part, do thou, Agni, kindle it with thy heat; let thy flame and thy lustro kindle it: with those forms of thine, which are auspicious, convey it to the world of the righteous, * * * * . Whatever part of thee, (the dead) any black bird or ant, or serpent, or beast of prey has torn, may Agni restore it to thee whole, and Soma who has entered into the Brahmans." (*Rig Veda*, X, 16. 1-6). Thus fire, with the help of the Soma or wine offering, which lightens up the mounting flame, is to furnish the dead with a new ethereal body similar to his late earthly one, but free from its manifold imperfections, and to bear him away to the regions of light. "Thou, oh Agni," says one of the Vedic liturgies, "art our cord and our bridge; thou art the path that conducts us to the gods." (*Tait. Brâh.* II, 4, 2, 6) Man is said in another place to have three separate births, the first from his mother as he enters the world, the second through fire sacrifice while he remains in it,

* *The Day after Death, or our Future Life according to Science*, by Louis Figuier: English Translation, published by Bentley and Son, 1872, Chap. IX.

† Brinton's *Myths of the New World*, p. 233.

and the third through fire burial or cremation as he leaves it: (*Sat. Brâh.* XI, 2, 1, 1). "Borne by those undecaying flying pinions of thine, oh Agni, wherewith thou slayest the "Rakshasas (*demons*), may we soar to the world of the righteous, "whither the ancient, earliest-born sages have gone before:" (*Vajas. Sanhita*, XVIII, 52). In the later Indian writings the Sati or "good woman," who consents to be burnt alive on her husband's funeral pyre, is said to be conveyed with him, and by the same element, to swarga or heaven. In the Râmâyana there is a legend told of Kabandha, a hideous monster, who had once been a handsome Gandharva or demi-god, but had been deformed for some offence committed against Indra. This monster begged for the rite of cremation, when he was at the point of death. It is said that while the body was burning his pure spirit arose out of the flame in the shape of a beautiful Gandharva and mounted into the sky. The virtue of fire as a soul-conductor to the world above, is thus described by one of the Dyak tribes in Borneo. "As the smoke of the funeral pile of a good man "rises, the soul ascends with it to the sky: as the smoke from "the pile of the bad man descends, his soul with it is borne "down to the earth, and through it to the regions below."* In many countries a distinction has been made between those who are, and those who are not, deemed worthy of the honor of fire burial. Chiefs and kings, priests and warriors of renown, being possessed of a more luminous soul, are burnt, flame returning to flame; but the common herd, being of the earth earthy and possessing no light, go back to darkness and are buried in the kindred clod.† Among the Ghonds and Bhils of India at the

* This saying is quoted by Mr. Tylor in *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 85, from St. John's *Far East*, Vol. I, p. 181. And Mr. Tylor, after quoting it, asks:—"Did this exceptional idea come into the Dyak's mind by contact with Hinduism?" As the Hindus are not known to have penetrated to Borneo, the matter must remain in doubt. If it *was* borrowed from Hinduism, it verifies, at all events, the interpretation which we have put upon the passages quoted from the Vedas.

† The following extract from article on Fire in *Encycl. Britannica*, 9th edition, will serve to illustrate this point:—"Among Alouquins and Ottaways those only of the 'Great Hare totem,' among the Nicaraguans none but the Caciques, among the Caribs no others than the priestly caste were entitled to the honour of cremation. The tribes of Upper California were even persuaded that such as were not burned were "liable to be transformed into brutes." In ancient Germany the juniper tree, because it emitted a fragrant smell, was reserved for the funeral pyre of princes. Other kinds of wood were sufficient for less distinguished men. See *Fire Burial*, by Karl Blind, p. 6, and p. 19; edit. 1875. On the value attached to fire burial in Greece and Rome, see *Iliad* VII, 410, and Lucan's *Pharsalia*, IX, 9.

present day, as among the Colchians in ancient times, the privilege of cremation is allowed to men but denied to women. In Greece the honour of a funeral pyre was denied to suicides, men who had committed the crime of extinguishing their own life-flame.

The doctrine of purgatory is the logical sequel to the rite of fire-burial. If the soul was not pure enough to pass at once into the regions of light, an intermediate process was necessary to clear it of the taint of sin. This process is described by Virgil as the lot of those souls who have gone to the shades below, but are not fit for immediate admission into the pure regions of Elysium. Purgatory, according to this poet, can be effected by wind; or by water, (both elements of purity), or by fire:—

- Ergo exercentur pœnis veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt; aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni.

• *Æneid*, VI, 739. ff

Purgatory by fire, and by fire only, is most distinctly recognized in the Mazdean or Persian creed. It was said that at the great conflagration, which was to precede the final victory of the Good Spirit, Ahura Mazda, over the powers of evil, the souls of all men, good and bad alike, would undergo purification by fire. "All men will pass into that melted metal, and become pure: to the righteous man it will seem as though he walked continually in warm milk; to the wicked it will seem as though, in the world, he walked continually in melted metal." Not only human souls, but the earth which we inhabit, and even the hell of the evil one who has corrupted it, are to be purged of the taint of sin on that great day. "The stench and pollution which were in hell are burned in that metal, and hell itself becomes quite pure. The Good Spirit sets the vault, into which the Evil Spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world: the renewal of all things arises by his will, and the world is immortal for ever and ever. The earth becomes an iceless, mountainless plain. Even the mountain, whose summit supports the Kinvar bridge (the bridge of souls), is brought down and will no longer appear." * This doctrine of purgatorial fire passed from the Persians to the Jews, after

* *Bundahis*, Chap XXX, 20, 31, 32. This passage bears a remarkably close resemblance to 2 Peter III, 12, 13; and it bears a closer one still to the following lines in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*:—

They tremble, the sustaining crags;
The spires of ice are toppled down

the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great. From these it passed into the speculations of the early Christian sects and into the writings of the Catholic fathers; and thus by degrees it found its way into the very heart of Christendom, both East and West, where it still remains. Purgatory, in all cases, has been considered punitive as well as healing and purifying. This is clear in the first two cases, from the quotations already given: for the melted metal, which is torture to the evil, is "like a warm milk bath" to the good. As regards the third, the following extract from an old English rhyme will shew in what light purgatory was looked upon by the masses, whatever may have been the teaching of the Church:—

From Brig o'Dread, nae brader than thread,
Every night and awle,
To Purgatory Fire thou comest at last,
And Christ receive thy sawle.
If ever thou gave either milke or drink,
Every night and awle,
The fire shall never make thee shrink,
And Christ receive thy sawle.
But if milke nor drink thou never gave naen,
Every night and awle,
The fire shall burn thee to the bare baen,
And Christ receive thy sawle. *

It is not difficult to see how the punitive fire of purgatory which was to last only for a time, was developed by degrees into the punitive fire of a hell, which is to last for ever, and with no object except to torture. Such is the atrocious fiction which has found its way into the creed of Christendom as popularly taught and understood. Very different, however, is this brimstone world from the kingdom of Hel, the pale and cold death goddess of the Norse, whose name it has appropriated and distorted, and whose supposed region in the days of heathenism was one of frost, mist, and snow.

And molten up, and roar in flood;
The brute earth lightens to the sky,
The fortress crashes from on high,
And the great Æon sinks in blood
And compassed by the fires of hell;
While thou, dear Spirit, happy star,
O'erlook'st the tumult from afar,
And smilest knowing all is well."

* Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, p. 465. The Brig o'Dread alluded to in this metrical dirge is the Bridge of Souls, like the Kiuvar bridge of the ancient Persians and the Sirât of the Mahomedans.

Fire ordeal performed the same kind of function for the living that fire purgatory was intended to perform for the dead. As the latter produced purity, so the former proved innocence. "Every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." (1 Cor. III, 13). Such, in a figurative sense, is the language of St. Paul, and such in a literal sense has been the practice of mankind. Three examples will suffice, one taken from India, another from Scandinavia, and the third from our own country:—

"They bring a man with his hands tied before the Raja, saying, He has carried off something, he has committed theft. Heat the axe for him. If the man is guilty of the deed, but falsifies himself intending to deceive, and screens himself with a lie, he lays hold of the red-hot hatchet and is burnt, and thereupon is put to death. If he is guiltless he tells the truth about himself, and with true intent, clothing himself with the truth, he lays hold of the glowing hatchet, and is not burnt, and is not put to death. As he is not burnt in that ordeal, so is the sage unburnt, in the fiery trial of metempsychosis. All this world is animated by the super-sensible. This is real, this is self. That art thou, Svetaketu."

Chandogya Upanishad.

She to the bottom plunged her snow-white hand, and up she drew the precious stones. "See now, ye men! I am proved guiltless in holy wise, boil the vessel as it may." The heart of Atli laughed within his breast, when he beheld the hand of Guðrún unscathed. "Now must Herkia go to the cauldron, she who had hoped to injure Guðrún! No one has seen misery, who saw not that, how the hand of Herkia was burnt. Then they led the woman to a foul slough; and thus were Guðrún's wrongs avenged.

Third Lay of Guðrún, Edda.

"Fire-ordeal was performed either by taking up in the hand, unburnt, a piece of red-hot iron of one, two, or three pounds weight; or else by walking barefoot and blindfold over nine red hot ploughshares laid lengthwise at unequal distances. By the latter method Queen Emma, the mother of Edward the Confessor, is said to have cleared her character, when suspected of familiarity with Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester.

Blackstone's Commentaries.

However various may have been the modes of applying the test in different parts of the world, the test itself has never varied; for it rested on an uniform, unchanging instinct. Fire could never hurt the innocent. The pure element spared the pure, but burnt and blistered the guilty. The same principle, as we have shewn already, holds good in the fires of Purgatory, which impart a pleasant warmth to the good, but inflict an insufferable torture on the evil. Numerous legends are extant of persons who have slept and walked in fire without being harmed. It is told of ~~Zoroaster~~ Zoroaster, the priest and prophet of the most high god of ancient Persia, that, when he was a child, a hostile magician seeking to destroy him, threw him into a blazing fire,

in the midst of which the godlike infant fell peaceably asleep. The legend of Sita's fire is well known to Hindus. To prove that there was no stain upon her, after she had been recaptured from the demon Râvana, she walked alive into the midst of a blazing bon-fire. But Agni, the fire-god, took upon him the form of a man, and leading her quietly out by the hand, proclaimed to the spectators—"She is without a stain; had there been any stain upon her chastity, she would never have passed in safety from me." * In the legends of the Norse, Brynhild had vowed to wed that man only, who should ride over the blazing fire that was laid around her father's hall:—"The fire began to rage, and the earth to tremble; high rose the flame to heaven itself. Sigurd urged (the horse) Grani with his sword. The fire was quenched before the prince, the flame allayed before him." † Readers of the Old Testament will recall the scene on the plains of Chaldæa, in which the three Hebrews "bound in their coats, hosen, and hats were cast into a burning fiery furnace" by the king of Babylon, and how they came out unharmed: "upon their bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them." (Daniel III, 27). The same furnace however destroyed the guilty men, who had cast them into it.

With such examples before us, it is not surprising that men of extraordinary grace should have been invested, even in the present life, with those attributes of fire and light, which are the special marks of exalted souls in the world beyond. Such men are described sometimes metaphorically as burning and shining lights, and sometimes literally as having their brows encircled with aureoles which shine without burning. When Moses descended from Mount Sinai after receiving the law, his face was so dazzling bright that the children of Israel could not look at him while he conversed with them, and he was therefore forced to wear a veil; (*Exodus*, XXXIV, 33). The meeting of Parasu Râma with Râma Chandra, his great Ksatriya rival, is one of the most dramatic scenes in the legendary history of India. While the former was still at some distance, nothing but a mass of flame, *tejnah râsikh*, could be seen moving towards the foe. When the encounter took

* The story as given in the text is told in Mr. T. Wheeler's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 384; edit. 1869. A slightly different version is given in Tulsî Das's *Ramayana*, Book VI. "The flame was cool as sandal wood, as Sita entered it, meditating on her lord. Her shadow and the stain of social disgrace were alone consumed in the blazing fire." (Grower's Translation, p. 483; edit. 1883).

† *The Edda of Sæmund* translated by Mr. Thorpe, Part II, p. 69, Trübner's Edit. 1866.

place, the defeat of Parasu Râma was signalized by his becoming suddenly darkened, and lustreless, *nisprabhah*. * In the Institutes of Manu, the most influential code of Hindu law, it is declared that "there is no difference between the fire and a Brâhman"; and an offering of food to such a holy man is said to be "an offering in the fire of a sacerdotal mouth,"—a precept of which the Brâhman caste has keenly availed itself from that day to this by claiming, as it still does, the first and largest share at every feast given by men of other castes at times of marriage or burial. † Men who have been translated to the skies without dying were conveyed there in and through the same element, as that used in cremation or purgatory for conveying the souls of the dead to the same quarter. Thus Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, is said to have been caught up in a flash of lightning sent by his father, Mars. We are told that Elijah, the prophet of Thisbe, was taken up in a chariot of fire: "As they still went on and talked, behold there appeared a chariot of fire and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven:" (II Kings, II): and hence among certain tribes in the Caucasus he was deified and became the god of thunder and lightning. ‡ The translation of Sarabhangâ, as told in Tulsi Dâs's Ramâyana, was effected by "the fire of his own devotion." This aged anchorite, like another Simeon, had made up his mind to die as soon as he had seen Râma, the incarnate god, and the destined destroyer of Râvan. He had taken his stand upon the funeral pile, and was about to set fire to it for the purpose of self-immolation, "when the fire of his devotion consumed his body, and by Râma's favour he ascended to Vaikunth," the heaven of Vishnu. §

* *Raghuvansa*, by Kalidasa, canto XI, sloka 63, ff.

† Institutes of Manu, Chap. III, 212, 98, 164.

‡ Similarly in Greece the highest peak of Ægion, once the seat of Zeus, the great Thunder-god of the Greeks, is now called Mount St. Elias. See Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 239: edit. 1871.

§ *The Râmâyana of Tulsi Dâs*: translated by Mr. F. S. Growse, Allahabad, 1938. Book III, The Forest, page 339.

The story as told in Ramâyana by Valmiki is somewhat different. There the saint does actually set fire to the funeral pile, and is not consumed by the fire of his own devotion. Valmiki's version of the legend may be read in Mr. Griffith's Metrical translation, Vol. III, p. 21:—

"Then rose the flame above his head,
On skin, blood, flesh, and bones it fed,
Till forth, transformed with radiant hue
Of tender youth, he rose anew.
Far shining in his bright attire
Came Sarabhangâ from the pyre:
Beyond the seat of Gods he passed,
And Brahmâ's sphere was gained at last."

By a natural or rather necessary sequence of ideas, the nature of gods was identified with the same element as that of the souls of men after death : for the conception of divine spirits is the same at bottom as that of human souls, and the same sacrifices and offerings have been made to both. In the Vedic hymns we are told that "all the gods are comprehended in Agni," (*Rig Veda*, V, 3, 1) ; and that "he (Agni) surrounds them as the circumference of a wheel does the spokes ;" (V, 18, 6). In another place it is said that "the gods obtained immortality by Agni ;" (*Atharva Veda*, IV, 23, 6). In the same hymns the gods are sometimes called by the generic name of Adityas, or sons of Aditi, the Infinite or Eternal ; and according to Professor Roth, the eternal element "in which the Adityas live, and which constitutes their essence, is the celestial light." But the commonest name for god or divine being in the Vedic hymns is Deva, from the root *div*, which means "to shine." Hence Deva means "bright," "ethereal being," and this is the name found in most of the languages of Europe, as in Latin *deus*, in Greek *theos*, in Lithuanian *dewas*, in Lettish *dews*, in old Prussian *drivs*, in Irish *dia*, in Welsh *duw*, in Cornish *duy*, and in the Norse plural *tivar*. The foundation of every polytheistic creed, which has recognized powers of evil as antagonistic to those of good, is that the gods are formed of light, and the devils of darkness. Nor are such conceptions confined to the lower creeds. The reader need scarcely be reminded that light or fire is the image by which the Most High revealed himself to His own prophets and apostles, and that Satan is everywhere called the Prince of Darkness. In Daniel's vision of God's kingdom, it is said that "God, the ancient of days, sat ; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire ; a fiery stream issued and came forth from before him. (*Dan.* VII, 6). In the Book of Wisdom it is said : "Wisdom is the brightness of eternal life, and the unspotted mirror of God's majesty, and the image of His goodness." (VII, 26). We are told that, in the miraculous conversion of Saul, "suddenly there shone round about him a light from heaven, and he fell to the earth, &c.,"; (*Acts*, IX, 3). We are also told that "cloven tongues like as of fire" were the symbol chosen by the Most High to signify the visible descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles ; *Acts*, II, 3.

Hail, holy Light, offspring of heaven first born,
Of the eternal coeternal beam
May I express Thee unblamed ! Since God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright essence increate.

Paradise Lost, Book III.

This version of the story shews very plainly what fire was expected to do in the rite of cremation. It affords a practical illustration of the texts which I have quoted from the Vedas.

Fire sacrifice is a contrivance, practised by all nations, and without borrowing from each other, for conveying ethereal food to ethereal beings. Just as fire-burial helps to separate the soul from the corpse and transmits it so separated to a higher sphere, so fire-sacrifice detaches the soul of the offered victim from its body and conveys it with the smoke to the deity who is invited to receive it. The flesh, that is, the solid parts of the animal are eaten by the sacrificer, who are themselves animals of flesh and not ghostly or spiritual beings. But the soul, the essence, the ethereal parts of the offering, are intended for the gods, whose own nature is ethereal and not carnal. It is only by fire that these ethereal parts can be extracted from the fleshy mass and wafted into the air in wreaths of odorous smoke; and it is to this fact that we must ascribe the universality of the custom of fire sacrifice:—

κῆσση δ' ουρανὸν ἵκεν ἰλισομένη περὶ καπνῷ

Iliad, 1, 317.

"An offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto the Lord.

Leviticus, 1, 13.

Sometimes the victim's soul was conveyed to the deity in a less spiritual form,—namely, through the blood and without the help of fire; for by a very rational and wide-spread instinct, the blood itself was believed to be the life or soul of the animal offered.* Hence in all sacrifices, whether fire was used or not, the blood was poured out as a separate offering; and for man to touch such food, was declared to be unlawful and impious, being an encroachment on the rights of the deity. On this point the Levitical law was rigorously strict. The blood of the victim was invariably sprinkled before the sanctuary or poured upon the horns of the altar, before the roasting of the flesh was commenced;† and the angel of death,

* Among the Karens of Indo-China, and among the Papuans or natives of New Guinea, the word for *soul* is a synonym for *blood*; and the same connexion, (as Mr. Tylor remarks, in *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 389), appears prominently in Jewish and Arabic philosophy. The most horrible sentence which Elijah could pronounce against the heathen Queen Jezebel was that dogs should lick her blood; that is, that the foulest of animals (as the Jews considered it) should consume her very life or soul. In many languages a man's soul has been called his shadow, *akia*, *umbra*, *shade*. But the shadow could not be used in sacrifice, while the blood could, the blood after being poured out disappeared by degrees, and the deity was supposed to come and lick it up.

† See *Leviticus* 1, 11: "And the priests, Aaron's sons, shall sprinkle his (the victim's) blood round about upon the altar." See also *Deut. XII, 23*:—"Only be sure that thou eat not the blood; for the blood is the life, and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh." In the council of the Apostles, which sat at Jerusalem, the prohibition against eating blood or things strangled was confirmed: see *Acts XV, 20*. In the Roman

who smote the first born in Egypt, only consented to pass by the doors of the Israelites on condition that "the blood of a male lamb without blemish was sprinkled that night on the two side posts and on the upper door post of the houses," in which the Israelites dwelt (Exodus XII.) It was not till the later days of the Hebrew monarchy, that a new class of teachers, the prophets, arose in Israel, who declaimed against the barbarous and blood-stained rites of the Levitical priesthood:—"I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. Wash you and make you clean. Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil; learn to do well." Though a blood-offering was believed to be acceptable to the deity to whom it was made, yet in most countries, savage as well as cultured, the consummation of the sacrifice was by fire. There is a legend current among the Ojibways of North America, which is so characteristic of the mode in which the fire sacrifice works, that it is worth quoting. A certain youth, having contrived with the help of the Moon to gain access to the Sun, was taken by the latter to witness the sacrifice of a white dog, which some medicine-man or sorcerer on the earth was then offering up as a victim. The dog was killed and roasted; and when the sacrificers had divided the animal and were about to commence their feast, the medicine-man turning to the Sun exclaimed:—"We send thee this, Great Manito." Immediately the Sun and his companion beheld a white dog rising towards them in spiritual form; and then and there they dined upon it.* Such was the virtue ascribed to fire-sacrifice by the ancient Hindus, that in one of the Vedic liturgies it is said:—"Even if a man who is called a no-Brahman or a person of bad reputation performs it, still this oblation goes to the gods, and is unaffected by the unworthiness of the priest;" (Ait. Brab. I, 15). Not only the souls of animals, but also those of inanimate things, were believed to be conveyed to the spirits above (that is to the gods), by means of fire: "This boiled rice is complete in its limbs, joints, and body. He who knows this is born complete in limbs, joints and body:" (Ath. Veda, XI, 3, 32.) There was always an ethical element implied in the institution of sacrifice; for the custom was based upon what is really the foundation of all morality,—mutuality of service,—fire offerings being considered to be as necessary to the subsistence of the gods, as the gods were necessary to the protection of men. This is plainly set forth in the Bhagavad-Gîtâ, or divine hymn,

Catholic rite, called the sacrifice of the mass, the wine, which has been transubstantiated into the blood of Christ, is not administered to the communicant.

* Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 355., edit. 1871.

which is accounted one of the highest efforts of the Indian intelligence. "Prajapati of old created beings with their rites of sacrifice, and said, Hereby shall you propagate yourselves; this shall be to you the cow of plenty. Sustain with this the gods, and let the gods sustain you: supporting each other in turn, you shall attain the highest happiness. Fed with sacrifice the gods shall give you the food that you desire. He that gives them nothing and eats the food which they give, is a thief indeed. Good men who eat the leavings of the sacrifice are loosed from their guilt; but they that cook for themselves alone, and not for the gods, eat sin."

Fire is not more congenial to divine or luminous spirits than it is abhorrent to devilish ones. Evil spirits are always dark. It is in the dark that they chiefly swarm; and in the dark, that evil deeds are mostly committed by men.

- The earth is full of darkness and cruel habitations.

New Testament.

Now the very witching time of night,
When church-yards yawn, and hell itself breathes out
Contagion to the world.

Shakspear.

Most races are afraid of going out in the dark without carrying some kind of light for protection against evil spirits. This was observed by Sir George Grey in Australia, by Bonwick in Tasmania, by Schoolcraft in America, by other witnesses in the Malay Peninsula.† In ancient India the fire fetish, Agni, was praised for "driving away the Dasyus (devils) from the house, and creating a large light for the Arya;" (Rig Veda, VII, 5, 6). In modern India, at the present day, the lady of the house bows to the lamps when they are first brought into the room in the evening: this ceremony is known by the name of *deepdarshan*. In Japan, in the less beaten tracks, no one would dare to go to sleep "without having an Andon (paper lantern) burning all night.‡ Iceland, when the Norse first discovered it, was "a contrie alle fulle of devilles;" and the only way

* The translation given in the text is quoted from *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, by Mr. A. Gough, Trübner's Oriental Series. All who are interested in Indian subjects must feel grateful to Mr. Gough for the clear and masterly analysis which he has given of the Upanishads. In Dr. *Max Müller's Egyptian Religion*, p. 167, the following passage occurs. "The texts tell of hundreds, thousands, millions of such offerings; and the mode of expression proves that the Egyptians regarded these offerings as being food to the gods."

† Grey's "Australia," Vol. II, p. 302. Bonwick's "Tasmanians," p. 160. Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes," Part III, p. 140, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Vol. I, pp. 270-298: quoted in Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. II, p. 178.

‡ Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, p. 137, Vol. I, by Miss Arabella Bird. Edit. 1881.

for expelling those noxious beings was by lighting large bonfires, and shooting fiery arrows into the air. The graves of the Norse warriors, who had died on the field of battle, were supposed to be guarded during the night "by means of certain sacred and "wandering fires, which played around the tombs."* The lamps kept burning on sepulchres in the dark burial vaults of Christian churches are too well known to require further allusion. The efficacy of fire as an expeller of the "prince of darkness" is distinctly recognized in the Roman ritual, in the office for the Benediction of Candles:—"Ut quibus cumque locis accensæ sive positæ fuerint, discedant principes tenebrarum, et contremiscant, et fugiant pavidum cum omnibus ministris suis, &c." Perhaps the most graphic picture of the devil's horror of light or fire, and of the fragrant offerings burnt on it, is to be seen in Japan, where at one of the shrines of Buddha there is an effigy of a captured demon, who is writhing in torture, because "by a grim irony he is made to carry a massive incense burner on his shoulders."† Most readers will remember Milton's description of the kingdom of Satan:—

"Yet from those flames
No light; but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell."

Paradise Lost, Book I.

Most readers, too, will recall the scene described by the same poet, in which the Son of God was assailed at night time by a host of demons in the midst of a furious storm ‡:—

Nor yet stayed the terror there;
Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
Environed Thee; some howled, some yelled, some shrieked,
Some bent at Thee their fiery darts, whilst Thou
Saw'st unappalled in calm and sinless peace.
Thus passed the night most foul, till morning fair
Came forth with pilgrim steps in amice grey;
Who with her radiant finger stilled the roar
Of thunder, chased the clouds, and laid the winds
And grisly spectres, which the fiend had raised
To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.

Paradise Regained, Book IV.

A recent tourist in the unbeaten tracks of Japan was struck by the resemblance of the ritual of that country to what she

* See Mallet's "Northern Antiquities," Bohn's edition, 1859: pp. 286, 7. and page 314.

† "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan," Vol. I, p. 116. By Arabella L. Bird: edit. London, 1881.

‡ This only repeats what had been said 2,000 years before by a fire-priest in Ancient Persia:—"As long as the sun is not risen, all the demons are endeavouring to spread havoc throughout the seven regions of the earth, &c." Haug's *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 199; edit. 1878.

had seen in different parts of Europe :—"From whence," she asks, "came the patterns of all these shrines, lamps, candlesticks, "and brazen vessels, which Buddhist, Ritualist, Greek, and "Romanist alike use, the tongues of flame in the temples, the "holy water, the garments of the officiating priests, the candles "and flowers in the altar, the white robes of the pilgrims, and "all the other coincident affinities which daily startle one?" The answer is that they were suggested by the universal instinct of mankind, which in all ages and countries has regarded fire as the life of the individual body, the collective life of the state; the source of physical health and mental purity, the symbol of the divine presence, the expeller of evil spirits, and the essential property of exalted souls.

"Thou, Oh Death, knowest the sacred fire that is the means of winning a sojourn in Paradise. Teach me about it, for I have faith. They that are inspired in Paradise partake of immortality. I choose this as the second wish.

"Yama replied: I know the fire that leads to Paradise, and tell it to thee; therefore listen. Know that that fire, which wins the endless sphere for him who knows it, is seated in the heart."

Kathâ Upanishad.

"Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good; that purity which is procured by the law of Mazda to him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds."

Zend Avesta.

Most sacred Fire, that burnest mightily
~~fit~~ human breasts, ykindled first above
 Among the eternal spheres and lamping sky,
 And thence poured into men, which men call Love,
 Not that same which doth base affections move
 In brutish minds and filthy lust inflame:
 But that sweet fit that doth true beauty love,
 And chooseth Virtue for his dearest dame,
 Whence spring all noble deeds and never dying fame.

Færie Queens, Book IV, Canto III

JOHN. C. NESFIELD.

* *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Vol. I, p. 209; by Arabella L. Bird: edit. London, 1861. The "holy water" springs from the same source as the holy fire. For water, too, has a philosophy of its own, as an element of bodily and spiritual purity, such as we have attempted in this essay to describe concerning fire. Nor is it difficult to explain the origin of the "white robes." White, in all creeds, is the emblem of purity, like fire and water. White girdles were worn by the ancient fire-priests of Persia and are still worn by them in Bombay. White dogs are sacrificed to the sun in America. White animals of any kind are sacrificed to Bella Penna, the Sun-god or Light-god, by the Khonds of Orissa. White horses were, for the same reason, sacred in Persia; see *Herodotus* I, 189. The bull Mnevis, which represented the sun or fire in ancient Egypt, was of a white or fawn colour. White cows were sacrificed to the sun at Heliopolis. The official dress of an Egyptian, as of a Persian, priest was a white mantle. See Dr. Tiele's *Egyptian Religion*, p. 96, p. 197, and p. 119. Trübner's Oriental Series, 1882.

THE QUARTER.

THE *concordat*, to which we were able to refer briefly in the Postscript to our last quarterly summary of Indian events, has proved the basis of a pacific settlement of the embittered Ilbert Bill controversy, the last faint echoes of which are now dying away.

This unexpected settlement,—whether temporary or permanent time alone can show—seems to have been due to the good offices of two members of the Legislative Council, Mr. G. H. P. Evans, representing the interests of the non-official European community, and Sir Auckland Colvin, representing the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir Auckland Colvin, having arrived here from Egypt at a time when the Ilbert Bill controversy was already at its height, was not associated in the public mind with its initiation nor committed to any definite course regarding it, and consequently formed a suitable channel through which the European community could negotiate with the advisers of Lord Ripon, whilst Mr. Evans, although identified with the European non-official community by his profession and sympathies, was not a member of the Defence Association, and could therefore act with greater independence and take up an unprejudiced attitude in advising its leaders. The negotiations were initiated by Mr. Evans, who, after consulting with the Defence Association, made certain proposals to Government through Sir Auckland Colvin. These proposals of Mr. Evans were, that while the new jurisdiction over Europeans should be conferred on native Magistrates as intended by Government, a clause should be inserted in the Bill giving to Europeans appearing for trial before a native Magistrate the right to claim a transfer to a European Magistrate. This, it was anticipated, would give complete satisfaction to the European community and at once put an end to the controversy. Government, however, was unable to accept this suggestion, but the negotiations thus begun led ultimately to the *concordat*, which was drafted by Mr. Ilbert and accepted by the Defence Association as a satisfactory settlement of the questions at issue.

At the meeting of the Legislative Council on January 4th, Mr. Ilbert moved that the Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, so far as it relates to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects, be referred to a Select Committee, with instructions to report in a week. He took occasion to traverse the whole ground covered by the Bill, and to explain the views and present position of Government on the questions raised. Beginning with the Bill as originally intro-

duced, he explained that the object of Government was "to remove a disqualification based on race, and to substitute for it a qualification based on personal fitness. The Bill merely declared that the simple fact of not belonging to an artificially defined circumscribed category of human beings, that this fact standing alone, apart from all other considerations, shall not constitute an absolute disqualification for the performance of certain important magisterial functions. In short, the principle of the Bill is the removal, not of race distinction, but of race disqualification, which is a very different matter." Referring to the adverse opinions of the Local Governments and officials, Mr. Ilbert said that "it became our duty to consider them, and to see how far it would be possible to give effect to them, consistently with our paramount duty of maintaining the declared policy of the Crown and Parliament, the paramount duty of observing what I may describe as the constitutional enactments and constitutional pledges by which we are bound." These constitutional enactments and pledges were embodied in the Charter Act of 1833 and in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. Mr. Ilbert quoted largely from these enactments, and from official despatches explanatory of their meaning, to show that Government was bound by these pledges to remove all legal disabilities based on race, except so far as their retention can be shown to be necessary. He combated at some length the statement and arguments of Sir Fitzjames Stephen to the effect that the Proclamation has no legal force whatever, being merely an expression of sentiment and opinion, and that it would be absurd to suppose that "Parliament can impose upon any one, and particularly that it can impose on any body having legislative power, a moral obligation to take some principle as a guide for legislation, and to embody it in definite enactments from time to time, irrespective of all other considerations." He quoted lengthy passages from the despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 10th December 1834, in which the intention of the Charter Act was fully explained. "First, we are decidedly of opinion that all British-born subjects throughout India should be subjected to the same tribunals with natives." And again "The meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India: that whatever tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number; that no subject of the king, whether of British or Indian or mixed descent, shall be excluded, either from the posts usually conferred on our uncovenanted servants in India, or from the covenanted service itself, provided he be otherwise eligible consistently with the rules. Fitness is henceforth to be the

criterion of eligibility." Mr. Ilbert then traced the successive steps which had been taken to give effect, to this clearly expressed policy. In doing so, he dwelt with especial emphasis on the fact that the Legislature had refrained from making Europeans subject to criminal courts in the Mofussil until the Penal Code of 1860 and the Criminal Procedure Code of 1861 had made the law of these courts practically the same as English law, and argued that, now that this was done, there was no further reason for exempting Europeans from the jurisdiction of these Mofussil courts. He referred as follows to the now famous compromise of 1872, expressing considerable doubts as to whether it was a compromise at all.

"It appears to have been some kind of informal arrangement or understanding to which at least some members of the Select Committee on the Bill were parties. But I need hardly say that, even if the agreement had been as formal as it was informal, it would not have tied the hands of subsequent governments, or have prevented them from passing such enactments as might from time to time be required in the interests of justice, good administration, and sound policy. This compromise of 1872 does appear to me to have been open to somewhat serious objections. I don't say this for the purpose of condemning the compromise, which was, as Sir John Strachey frankly admitted, open to criticisms of every kind, but for the adoption of which at that particular time there may have been strong reasons of a practical nature. But I say it rather for the purpose of showing how difficult it is to make any arrangement on a subject of this kind to which valid objection cannot be taken. The chief objections to which the arrangement of 1872 appear to me to have been open are three. First ~~that~~, although put forward as a compromise, an attempt was made to defend it on principle, and that the arguments by which it was so defended are unsound and fallacious. Secondly, because the form which the compromise assumed, and the grounds on which it was supported, were not wholly consistent with the principles in accordance with which we are bound to govern India. Thirdly, that it contained the seeds of practical difficulties which were certain to arrive at no very distant date."

After considering these objections in detail, Mr. Ilbert passed on to explain the bearing of his historical retrospect upon the measure as originally contemplated, and the modifications which alone it had been possible to introduce into it, to meet the opinions of local officers, consistently with a due regard to the pledges of the Charter of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. This led him to make the first official reference to the *concordat*, in terms which we here give in full, as explaining the attitude of Government towards that important compromise :

"However, since the announcement of these modifications was made, it has been strongly pressed upon us by persons whose opinion is entitled to great weight that, however moderate and cautious our proposals might be, yet there was a certain risk of an explosion of race-feeling taking place when the new law came to be put into force. And however much we might deplore and condemn the spirit which renders such a risk possible, yet we felt it to be our duty to minimise that risk by any means which might appear to be

practicable and justifiable. Accordingly we have agreed to accept a suggestion which has been made to us with this view, and which would have the effect of slightly extending the system of trial by jury. The suggestion is that a European British subject, when brought for trial before a District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, should have the right, if he thinks fit to claim it, to be tried by a jury, such as was provided for by Sec. 451 of the C. P. Code, subject to two conditions. First, that no distinction is to be made between European and Native Magistrates and Judges, and secondly, that the punitive powers of District Magistrates over European British subjects are to be doubled, that is to say, are to be extended to imprisonment for six months, or a fine of two thousand rupees. The punitive power of other Magistrates, that is to say, the power to imprison for three months or impose a fine of one thousand rupees, will be left untouched, and in cases tried before them the right to a jury will not be given. The adoption of this suggestion will maintain a complete equality between European and Indian District Magistrates and Sessions Judges, and at the same time provide in certain cases a useful safety-valve against such a risk as that to which I have referred. The practical effect of adopting these suggestions will, I believe, be slight. As to trials before District Magistrates, two things must be borne in mind, first, that the total number of criminal charges against European British subjects in the mofussil is small, and secondly, that the total number of cases of any kind tried by District Magistrates is very small indeed. From these two premises it is not difficult to draw a conclusion. As regards trials before Sessions Judges, it will be remembered that all such trials must under the existing law be either by jury or with the aid of assessors, that any Local Government may by executive order direct that the trial of all offences, or of any particular class of offences, before a Sessions Judge, shall be by jury, and that such orders have been applied to many parts of India, including some of the most important districts of Bengal and the whole of Assam. But I need hardly say that the maintenance of trial by jury either in its existing form or with the extension which we propose to give it, is dependent on the assumption that it is capable of being so worked as not to cause any failure of justice or other grave evil, and that an instrument of justice which is intended and ought to be a terror will not be converted into a source of impunity to evil doers."

We have devoted considerable space to Mr. Ilbert's speech, as it discusses the position of Government throughout this painful controversy, and endeavours to explain their policy in passing from the original bill to the totally different measure in which it resulted. It will be noted, however, that his speech and its arguments are really a defence of the measure as introduced a year ago and dwell as little as possible upon the modification, amounting in reality to a total transformation, which it has latterly undergone. In the debate which followed, it was pointed out with considerable force that "the amendments proposed, by extending to European British subjects, and to them alone, the jury system in trials before Magistrates, give a fresh recognition to race distinctions in matters of judicial procedure," and that, if a race disqualification was partially removed in the case of a few native officers, this was only effected by the creation of a new race distinction affecting the whole native community of India. The native Members of the Council, the Hon'ble Ameer Ali, and the Hon'ble Kristo

Das Pal, forcibly intimated that the natives would assuredly not be satisfied with this newly created distinction, and advocated the extension of the jury system to natives as well. The manifold obstacles to the effective administration of the law, and the risks of miscarriage of justice, which the European's right to claim trial by a jury of his fellow countrymen would involve in many districts, were also strongly represented by several speakers. As the debate went on, it became evident that some misunderstanding as regards the meaning of the terms of the *concordat* had revealed itself. Mr. Evans drew attention to this and asked for the adjournment of the debate in order to admit of this misunderstanding being cleared up, a request to which Lord Ripon agreed. The difficulty was of the following nature. The second clause of the *concordat* agrees that every European British subject, on appearing for trial before a District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, shall be entitled, as of right, to be tried by a jury, the majority of whom shall consist of European-British subjects. It appeared that the interpretation placed by Mr. Ilbert on this clause was that, where a District Magistrate was unable to obtain a jury of this nature, the case should be referred to the Court of the Sessions Judge, whose powers of fine and imprisonment are twice as great as those which the *concordat* proposed to bestow upon District Magistrates. The interpretation placed upon this clause by the Defence Association was that, where such a difficulty arose, the case should be transferred to the court of another District Magistrate, and not to that of a Sessions Judge with twice the powers. This difference of interpretation threatened to wreck the settlement completely and to reopen the dangerous controversy in full virulence once more. Two or three days of painful suspense followed, during which active negotiations were going on between Government and the Defence Association, and the attitude of the European community was one of angry waiting for the word to begin the campaign again with redoubled fury and bitterness. Arrangements were completed for a mass meeting on the Maidan to denounce what was considered the perfidy of Government. Fortunately, however, Government ultimately conceded the point by agreeing that, where there was a difficulty in obtaining a jury, the case should be referred to a Sessions Judge, sitting, however, as a District Magistrate, that is to say, with only half his usual powers of punishment. This satisfactory concession at once restored peace and quiet, and the debate was resumed in the Legislative Council on Monday January 7th, with every prospect of a speedy termination to this angry incident in Indian history. We need only refer to one or two features in the resumed debate. Mr. Evans, in explaining the nature of the

concordat, which he was mainly instrumental in bringing about, made it clear that it was not to be taken as the admission of any principle on the part of the European community, but merely as an agreement to prevent strife. In case of the jury system proving unworkable, he insisted that the Europeans would then have the right to claim a return to the *status quo ante*, and protested strongly against the tone in which Mr. Ilbert had spoken of the possibility of having to drop the jury clauses if difficulties arose in maintaining them.

"He treats his legislation as necessitated by the Charter Act and the Proclamation, and he seems to treat the concession of right of trial by jury as a safety valve attached to the Act in cases of accidents, which he will remove if it does not work satisfactorily, and meanwhile will act upon to show how necessary it is. This is not my view. I hope it will work satisfactorily so far as it is required to work, but I regard it as an integral part of the settlement, and consider that, if it was objected to, the whole Bill would have to go, and the European British subjects would be entitled to revert to the *status quo ante*, and to resist as vigorously as ever any invasion of their rights. They will not, I am certain, surrender the right to a jury, except on the same terms as in 1872, or on terms which would equally secure their just liberties."

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, in a very significant speech, showed that the proposed law would be practically inoperative. The District Magistrate rarely, if ever, takes up a criminal case, the whole of the criminal administration of a district falling to the Joint-Magistrate, with reference to whom the law remains unaltered.

"In 1882, of the whole of the criminal cases in Bengal which came under trial, 99·3 per cent. were tried by Joint-Magistrates and their subordinate officers, and 7 per cent. represented the proportion in Bengal, with a population of 69 millions, of cases of a criminal character which came before the Magistrate and Collector of the district; it would be difficult, indeed, to say what decimal would represent the proportion of criminal cases against European British subjects which would come before native Magistrates."

He further stated that, to still further diminish any chance of the law coming into operation in Bengal, his Government would take care that "no native should be appointed Magistrate and Collector of a district in which there was not a European. Joint-Magistrate capable of taking up such cases." His Honour remarked: "The present law will practically be inoperative, and therefore I have very little hesitation in accepting it." He also combated and disposed of the argument which has so frequently done service in support of the Bill, and which Mr. Ilbert had expressed in the following words:—

"For to say that a native of India who has been entrusted with the powers exercisable by a District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, who has risen to the position of being the chief executive officer or the chief

judicial officer in an area the average population of which in Bengal is about a million and a half, to say that such a person cannot be trusted to exercise with justice and discretion the very limited jurisdiction which is exercisable over European British subjects outside the Presidency towns, is to say that no native of India, however long and complete may have been his training and experience, however high and responsible may be his position in the public service, is fit to exercise that jurisdiction. And that is a proposition which few will be bold enough to maintain."

In reply to this Mr. Rivers Thomson declared that Government had in Bengal "no manner of power of selection in the appointment of Magistrates and Collectors of Districts," as civilians rose to this rank by seniority, pure and simple, and not by selection.

"It was totally out of the power, even of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to refuse to a Civilian, when his turn of promotion came, promotion to a district Magistracy. He had been thirty years in Bengal, and he knew only of one case in Bengal, where such a procedure was adopted, of refusing a Civilian such promotion."

and the single case referred to was the case of a man incapacitated for out-door work by sunstroke! The fact of a Civilian rising to be Magistrate and Collector of a District is a proof of seniority and nothing else.

His Excellency the Viceroy in concluding the debate went over pretty much the same ground as that traversed by Mr. Ilbert in opening it, though in a much more conciliatory spirit. He repudiated, in the strongest terms, Sir Fitzjames Stephen's view of the nature of the Proclamation. "This doctrine seems to me inconsistent with the character of my sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted on by the Government of England, it would do more than anything else could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and destroy our just influence." But the most important part of his speech was that in which the history of the *concordat* and its meaning were reviewed. His Excellency fully endorsed Mr. Evan's view that this was a real agreement between two parties, equally binding upon both. "The Government are altogether bound by the agreement which has been made through the instrumentality of Mr. Evans, and by that agreement they intend to abide."

At the conclusion of His Excellency's speech, the Bill was referred to the Select Committee with orders to report on the 18th January. The remainder of its story is soon told. The Select Committee presented their Report as ordered on the day named. The Report recommended the alteration of the Bill in the direction of the *concordat* as follows:—

If the amended Bill is passed as it now stands—

- (a.) The power of appointing Justices of the Peace will remain on its present footing;

(b) All District Magistrates and Sessions Judges will be *ex-officio* Justices of the Peace, and will have power to try European British subjects ;

(c.) District Magistrates will be empowered to pass upon a European British subject a sentence extending to six months' imprisonment or two thousand rupees fine or both, that is to say, a sentence twice as severe as they are empowered to pass at present, but any European British subject charged before a District Magistrate will have a right to require that he shall be tried by a jury of which not less than half the number shall be Europeans or Americans or both, and

(d.) a European British subject committed for trial before a Court of Session will have a similar right even in those districts where trials before the Court of Session are not ordinarily by jury.

The contingency about which the misunderstanding had arisen is referred to thus :—

The only other point which it seems necessary to notice in connection with this portion of the amended Bill is, that it is provided by the new section 451B, which it is proposed (by section 8) to insert in the Code, that where a jury is claimed before a District Magistrate, and he sees reason to believe that a jury composed in the manner required cannot be constituted before himself, or cannot be constituted without an amount of delay, expense or inconvenience which under the circumstances of the case would be unreasonable, he may transfer the case for trial to such other District Magistrate or such Sessions Judge as the High Court may, by general rules approved by the Local Government, or by special order, direct, and the Court to which a case is thus transferred shall, with all convenient speed, try it *with the same powers and according to the same procedure as the District Magistrate from whose Court it is transferred.*

The remainder of the Report recommends the adoption of Sir Charles Turner's proposal, giving the High Court the power to order the transfer of the case to another Court whenever such transfer is expedient for the ends of justice, and also of one or two proposals by Mr. Amir Ali intended to "reduce to a certain extent the complications and dangers which it is apprehended may at times arise, under the existing law, from the Magistrates having to try cases in which they have collected evidence for the prosecution, and in a certain sense acted as prosecutors."

The Bill was brought up for final disposal at the meeting of the Legislative Council, on Friday, January 25th. We need not follow the debate in detail, as the speeches were largely a repetition of old arguments and statements, and added nothing new to the controversy, but will confine ourselves to noticing two points of importance. The first of these is the indication of the native feeling regarding the *concordat* afforded by the amendments moved by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. These amendments were :—

1.—That after Section 2 of the Bill the following Section be inserted :—

"3. To Section 269, the following proviso shall be added, namely :—"Provided that in trials before a Court of Session, if, before the first Assessor is appointed, the accused requires to be tried by a jury, the trial shall always be by a jury."

- 2.—Also (if the above amendment be carried) that Section 7 of the Bill (which substitutes a new Section for Section 451 of Act X of 1862) be omitted as superfluous.

The object of these amendments was to extend to natives the right of claiming a jury in all cases of trial before a Sessions Judge. They indicate clearly the dissatisfaction of the native community with the new race-distinction that has been created. The Maharaja, in answer to appeals from the Viceroy and Mr. Ilbert, withdrew his amendments, but sufficient was said to show that the natives set very little store upon the infinitesimal removal of a race-disqualification, and resent very forcibly the creation of a vast race-distinction by which it has been effected. We quote the following passage from the speech of the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal :—

“ It cannot be denied that while race-distinction is removed in one direction, that is to say as regards a very small class of native officers, it is deepened in another direction, that is to say as regards the native population at large, that the anomaly of jury trial in petty cases,—in cases in which a jury is admitted to be ridiculous,—remains all the same, if the District Magistrate chooses to try such cases; that the cure of the invidiousness of the law will depend on the forbearance of the Magistrate, if he will not try petty cases, and of the accused, if he will not claim a jury in such cases; that the risk of failure of justice at the hands of a dominant and sympathising jury is not safeguarded in any way, and that the old evils to poor complainants of the transfer of cases to distant Courts, from districts where a jury may not be available,—evils almost amounting to a denial of justice—will be revived in all their rigours. There is a deep conviction amongst my countrymen that the fiery ordeal through which they have passed during the last ten months has brought forth no adequate result, and that if they have gained some slight advantages on the one hand, they have lost much more on the other.”

The second point of importance in the debate was that the nature of the *concordat*, as an agreement between two contending parties equally binding upon both, was again openly and clearly acknowledged. Mr. Evans put this beyond any doubt, and his statement received the tacit assent of Government. He declared that he could not consider the Maharaja of Darbhanga's amendments since they were opposed by Government, as the Bill was being passed “by consent.” “The Europeans, in consenting to its passing, do not agree to abandon any principle, or consent to any principle. They do not affirm the Government principles any more than Government affirms their principles. If any other Government in future times wishes to rip up this settlement, the European British subjects will claim to fall back on the *status quo ante*, that is, the position of 1872, before it was altered by the consent. It is the rule of law as well as of natural justice that if the settlement be set aside, the parties return to their former position.” At the close of the debate, the recommendations of the Select Committee were adopted, and the Bill, as thus amended, was finally passed into law.

So ends the famous Ilbert Bill controversy, constituting as it does one of the most exciting and important incidents in the history of British rule in India. Whether the settlement is likely to be permanent is open to question. But if the controversy arise again, it must arise on different grounds. It may arise in the form of an agitation for the abolition of the privilege of claiming a jury on the ground that this constitutes a grave hindrance to the administration of justice, or it may arise as an agitation for an extension of the right to claim a jury to the native community, thus abolishing the great race-distinction created by Mr. Ilbert's Act. If the view of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal be correct, the new Act will be wholly inoperative, and will have no influence whatever upon the administration of justice, in which case the former alternative is improbable. Considerable apprehension has been expressed by many Europeans lest the jury system should prove unworkable in a few years time, and should then be quietly dropped, leaving the native District Magistrates and Sessions Judges in the untrammelled possession of the privilege of trying Europeans without any safeguard at all, and there can be no doubt that fears of this kind have considerably lessened the general satisfaction at the close of the controversy. This view of the probabilities of the future received a good deal of confirmation from the passage in Mr. Ilbert's speech in which he declared that the "maintenance of trial by jury was dependent on the assumption that it is capable of being so worked as not to cause any failure of justice or other grave evil." The Code of 1872 was passed as the result of a similar compromise to that which has resulted in the passing of Mr. Ilbert's Bill, but no undoubted record of this compromise exists, and it has been possible for the promoters of the Bill to doubt whether such an agreement ever took place. As Mr. Ilbert said "There is nothing on record to show the persons with whom, or the manner in which, the compromise was arrived at. It appears to have been some kind of informal arrangement or understanding to which some members of the Select Committee were parties." But the perfectly clear and, considering the circumstances, courageous statements made by Mr. Evans in the debates in Council, and accepted by His Excellency, will render it impossible for any future Legal Member to speak of the compromise of 1884 in the same doubtful terms as the above. The Act of 1884 stands on official record as a "settlement by consent," and, if its enactments prove unworkable, it will be impossible to alter the law without reviving the recollection of the incidents and meaning of the stormy controversy of 1883. So that the fears on this head are groundless. There is every probability, however, that we are at the beginning

of an agitation for the extension of the right of trial by jury to natives. The Ilbert Act has supplied native agitators with a new and very conspicuous grievance, destined to take a leading place in the addresses of native societies, the speeches of native orators, and the leaders in native newspapers. If the views of the Lieutenant-Governor are correct, this is likely to be its sole effect.

The passing of the Ilbert Bill set His Excellency the Viceroy free to visit Hyderabad for the purpose of installing the young Nizam on his throne, an event to which considerable interest was attached, owing to the peculiar relations of that state to the British Government, and the many elements of disorder and difficulty in its rule. Lord Ripon visited Hyderabad by way of Madras, and, both in going and returning, was presented with innumerable addresses by various sections of the Madras community. His reception was peculiarly enthusiastic on the part of the natives, who welcomed him in thousands, sang Sanskrit *stokas* in his honour, and overwhelmed him with garlands and showers of perfume. But the Ilbert Bill controversy had too recently closed to allow time for its bitterness to pass away, and the abstention of the European non-official community from any share in welcoming or honouring His Excellency was painfully noticeable. It may be desirable to draw attention to some features in the addresses presented to Lord Ripon and in his replies, as indications of the political and other needs of the day, and also of the views of those in highest authority regarding them. The Madras Chamber of Commerce, as might have been expected, laid great stress upon the necessity of railway extension, and exhorted Government to offer such inducements as will further the investment of English capital. The Chamber of Commerce expressed its conviction that no adequate extension of railways could take place, unless the State either constructed them at its own expense, or else offered sufficient inducements in the shape of a guarantee to encourage private enterprise. The same question of the encouragement of railway extension was treated in a similar spirit in many other addresses. In the native addresses, of which there were an immense number, the whole field of native grievances, real and imaginary, was traversed, and His Excellency thus gained an admirable opportunity of ascertaining the "real sentiments of the people," or, rather, of that limited section of the people whose sentiments find expression in addresses and public speeches. The reforms and improvements demanded are sufficiently comprehensive and varied to occupy the energies of many successive Viceroys. We need not give a detailed list of them here, as they form the staple of all such

addresses, and we are sufficiently familiar with them already. Little can be learned from His Excellency's replies as to the future policy of his Government, and indeed Lord Ripon was particularly cautious not to commit himself to anything definite. He adroitly avoided any expression of opinion on the purely local questions brought to his notice by stating that they could not be in better hands than those of his friend, Mr. Grant Duff. Whilst expressing a general sympathy with the desire for progressive government manifested in the memorials, "he thought, however, that in questions of reform, it was incumbent on a Government, situated as was the Government of India, to be perfectly sure of each step it took." He dwelt with particular emphasis upon the necessity of making only such reforms as would not sensibly affect the financial condition of the country. "For himself he did not know where new taxes were to be found, although no man was more anxious than he was to advance in the path of progress, provided that advance was steady and sure: yet he felt that reform should not be pushed forward at a rate inconsistent with the financial prosperity of the country." He feared that the approaching financial statement of Sir Auckland Colvin would show that there was very little money indeed at present at the disposal of Government, owing to the falling off in the opium revenue. His Excellency repudiated the intention so frequently attributed to him of advancing and extending primary education at the expense of higher education, and declared "that there is no intention of checking or diminishing in the least degree the higher education of the country. On the contrary, the administration fully desired to maintain and extend the standard of higher education." This statement regarding the intentions of Government in the matter of education was repeated and emphasised by His Excellency on several occasions, and it is obvious that Lord Ripon was very anxious to correct an impression regarding his views on education which has prevailed widely during the sittings of the Education Commission. In further elucidation of his views on this subject, we may quote a passage from his reply to the address of the students of the Madras Christian College:—

"The work of education in India is of such magnitude, that its complete accomplishment at present is beyond the power of the British Government in this country. The Government could not resort to a large expenditure without taxation, which would be most unpalatable and unjust to the people. They looked confidently to private effort to aid them in this work."

"The other subjects to which His Excellency made special reference in his replies, were the raising of the age of candidates for admission to the Civil Service, the method of appointing to the

Statutory Civil Service, the separation of Executive from Judicial functions, and the Roorkee Resolution. He indicated that his own personal view was that the age for admission to the Civil Service might be raised with advantage, and that the mode of appointment to the Statutory Civil Service was open to improvement, which is, of course, the high official formula for "radically bad." On this head he stated that the Government of India was about to seek the opinions of the Local Governments with the view of introducing improvements in the method of appointing to the Statutory Civil Service. With reference to the highly desirable separation of Judicial from Executive functions, he remarked—

"He quite agreed that in theory the separation of Executive and Judicial functions was most desirable, but the theory in its application to India was strictly limited by financial considerations, which in this case were of paramount weight. Steps towards the gradual separation of those functions would still, he hoped, from time to time, be taken, and the report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill gave some indication of a move in that direction."

The Madras Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association naturally availed themselves of this opportunity of drawing his Lordship's attention to the many disabilities under which the community they represent labours, and of claiming from Government some consideration and kindly treatment. "The Association draws attention to the many well-known disabilities under which the community labours and begs that these disabilities may be removed. All that the community seeks is fair play, that it should not be put in a position of disadvantage with reference to the other classes of the population, temporarily or permanently residing in the country." His Lordship was not able to give the Association any very satisfactory assurances, as the particular disabilities under which the Eurasians suffer have originated in the mistaken policy of successive Secretaries of State, and the order for their removal must issue from home. With reference to the extraordinary Roorkee Resolution, His Lordship remarked :

"I should have been glad to have been in a position to make a definite statement to you on the present occasion in respect to the resolution of the Government of India passed some time ago with regard to admission to the Engineering Colleges, which has been a subject of much discussion and dissatisfaction among your community. The Government of India is in communication with the Secretary of State upon the subject, and I had hoped that a final decision might have been arrived at before this time, and that that decision might have been made known to the public, but that is unfortunately not the case. As you know, the Government of India in this matter has acted under the orders of successive Secretaries of State. The question is one, therefore, that we cannot deal with apart from the Government at home. As soon as the correspondence is brought to a conclusion, and a decision arrived at, it will be communicated to the public, and I shall be glad indeed if it is of a nature to give satisfaction to the members of your community."

The visit of the Viceroy to Hyderabad and the installation of the Nizam on the *musnud* attracted an unusual amount of interest and attention. Since Sir Salar Jung's death, that state has fallen somewhat into disorder, and the removal of his strong restraining hand has let loose those plentiful elements of turbulence and intrigue for which the Deccan supplies so favourable a field. If we are to believe a leading local newspaper, which professes to have special sources of information, the administration of the finances of the Deccan has latterly been grossly corrupt, and speculation and intrigue have combined to bring the Nizam's inheritance to the verge of ruin. These statements are denied, it is true, but however that may be, it is a cause of congratulation that the long minority of fifteen years is at an end, and that the control of affairs has been assumed by a Prince who is agreed on all hands to shew great promise of strength of character and prudence of judgment. The installation ceremonies were conducted with great brilliancy and success. A theatrical incident marked their opening, which recalled some of the scenes in the *Arabian Nights*. The two contending factions in the State were headed respectively by the aged Peshkar, and by Mir Saik Ali Khan, Sir Salar Jung's eldest son. The accession of the Nizam necessarily involved a definite choice between these two claimants for power, and his decision was looked forward to with absorbing interest by the rival factions in the State. The choice of the Nizam was notified by a sudden interchange of the chairs of the Peshkar and Saik Ali, the chair of the latter being placed above that of the Peshkar, thus intimating that he is to be the future Minister of the Nizam. The choice of the Nizam seems to promise well for the future, as Saik Ali shows already much of his father's firmness of purpose and capacity for affairs, and we hope his administration of the Nizam's territories may be equally successful. Lord Ripon's speech of advice and congratulation on the occasion of the installation was wise and statesmanlike, and has excited some admiration for its simple outspokenness. If the Nizam will only lay its earnest words to heart and act up to them, he will realise what Lord Ripon declared to be the true ambition of a good Prince, to leave his people the better for his rule. His Lordship specially impressed upon the Nizam the paramount necessity of watching, with the greatest care, the financial condition of his state.

"Look to your finances. Disordered finances are the ruin of States. It is so everywhere. It is very specially so in India. Carelessness and extravagance in financial matters mean, first heavy taxation, and then gradual impoverishment and ruin of the people, and then loans with increasing interest, and final bankruptcy. Reasonable economy and just and mindful taxation mean ever-increasing prosperity and expanding wealth. A good revenue system is the foundation of good government in India, and without it the Prince is embarrassed and the people miserable."

These are certainly wise words, which perhaps derive additional emphasis from His Lordship's statements at Madras, that the possibility of carrying out needed reforms depends largely upon the financial state of the country, and that the Government of India is at present unable to institute any reforms owing to the empty condition of its purse. The Nizam will be able to find plenty of striking illustrations of Lord Ripon's advice in the financial history of the Government of India. He has, it is stated, applied for the loan of two experienced financial officers from the Government of India to enquire into the fiscal condition of his State, and put matters straight for him. Lord Ripon impressed upon him the folly of paying too much regard to the outward shows of power and the wealth and splendour with which he was surrounded. It is perhaps an unkindly commentary upon this advice to point out that the Nizam's visit to Calcutta cost his State six lacs of rupees, and that the very installation ceremonies, of which this advice of Lord Ripon's formed a part, are estimated to have led to an expenditure of no less than ten lacs! This is certainly "extravagance in financial matters," and the Viceroy did well to impress the necessity of economy and care in expenditure upon the generous-handed Prince. Since the Viceroy's return, considerable consternation has been excited by the sudden dangerous illness of the Nizam, and the appalling prospect of another minority of 18 years in his turbulent State. However, though once or twice in very great danger, His Highness has now completely recovered from the attack of cholera, and, with the help of his young Dewan, is apparently enquiring into the condition of the Augean Stable which surrounds him, as the *Statesman* would style it, and endeavouring to do something towards its cleansing.

The complete success which has crowned the resolute opposition of the European community to the Ilbert Bill has impressed very forcibly upon the natives of this country the political power of organized agitation. The lesson thus learned is bearing abundant practical fruit in the opposition of the zemindars to the Tenancy Bill, which is being conducted with an energy and method that cannot fail to have some appreciable effect upon the future course of that much-debated measure. A striking feature in this agitation is the participation in it of European and native landholders alike on an equal footing. It says a good deal for the tolerance and moderation of British rule in India, that meetings for political agitation are becoming as common in this country as they are in the freer atmosphere of England. Another interesting feature in these recent agitations for political ends is that they are carried on conjointly in England and in India.

The British elector is rapidly becoming as familiar with the wrongs of the Bengal zemindar as with the claims of the country householder. We pass on to summarise briefly the history of this agitation during the past quarter. A large and enthusiastic meeting of Landholders of Bengal and Behar was held in the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 29th December, with the Maharaja of Darbhanga in the chair, "for the purpose of deciding what further action is necessary in reference to the Bengal Tenancy Bill." The Maharaja explained the motives of this agitation of the zemindars in the following words:—"We are quite certain such an iniquitous and one-sided Bill can never be made into law, if we only take proper measures to agitate the question, and put forward all our strong points before the eyes of the public." In the speeches that followed and the resolutions that were passed, nearly every clause of the Bill came in for denunciation. We give here four of the resolutions passed, the remainder expressing merely a general disapproval of the Bill:—

1. That if the deprivation of the landlords of their just rights, inherited from generation to generation, confirmed by the Permanent Settlement, and consecrated by a century of British rule, be deemed essential to the welfare of the tenantry, the government be solicited to consider the justice of allowing the zemindars to surrender their estates on receiving such compensation in money as will, when invested in government securities, produce a permanent return equal to their present income.

2. That, as thousands of estates have been made of waste and other lands upon the faith of zemindars being entitled to their present rights, suitable clauses should be introduced into the Bill for providing compensation to the zemindars for the loss of their rights.

3. That, in view of the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Bill, which will deprive the landlords of their legitimate prestige and influence, and reduce them to a state of helplessness, this meeting is of opinion that the government should be requested to relieve the zemindars of the duty of collecting the road and public works cesses, and of such other services and obligations as are now cast upon them by law or custom.

4. That His Excellency the Viceroy in Council be moved to publish for general information in English and in the Vernacular the Bengal Tenancy Bill as it may be amended by the Select Committee, and to grant sufficient time to the public for the consideration of the amended Bill.

The first of these resolutions is the bold suggestion that Government should buy up the rights of the zemindars in the soil, and thus place itself in a position to deal directly with the ryot. It is a courageous proposal, but, under the circumstances, is scarcely likely to result in any practical issue. The second amounts to a demand for compensation for the deterioration in the value of their property which the proposed legislation will bring about. The third is the request that, as they are to be deprived of their rights, they should also be relieved of their duties. It will be seen from these resolutions that the position ~~which~~ up by the zemindars is sufficiently

courageous, and is one of uncompromising hostility to every detail of the Bill. The attitude of the Calcutta meeting has been the attitude of the numerous other meetings which have been held in various parts of the province affected by the proposed legislation. Such meetings have been held at Bhagalpore, Mozufferpore, Purneah, Baghee, Bankipore and other places, at which resolutions similar to the above have been moved and passed enthusiastically, and Government has been specially called upon to publish, after each meeting of the Select Committee, an account of its proceedings in English and the vernacular. The secrecy of the proceedings of the Select Committee sitting on the Bill has been taken as a proof that Government wishes to hurry the Bill through without allowing time for its full discussion. But, during the quarter under review, the zemindars have not been allowed to have it all their own way. The memorial of the Central Committee of Landholders of Bengal and Behar to the Viceroy, to which we referred in our last "Quarter," was forwarded to the Government of Bengal for its opinion. The Government of Bengal sent in reply a Memorandum drawn up by Mr. Secretary MacDonnell in which its views were fully expressed. This Memorandum traverses the same ground as the memorial and combats each statement of the zemindars in detail. It is a very powerful and ably argued "counter-blast" against the usual statements of the zemindars regarding their status before the Permanent Settlement and their action since. The views of the Government of Bengal as set forth by Mr. MacDonnell may be briefly summarised thus: The zemindars before the Permanent Settlement were simply hereditary Revenue Collectors, having no proprietary rights whatever in the soil. The Permanent Settlement merely settled the relations between the Government and the zemindars with regard to the rights of Government to revenue, and did not affect or prejudice the rights of the ryot in the soil under the customary law of the land. These rights were not embodied in the Permanent Settlement, and indeed were not enquired into, as, in Lord Cornwallis's view, the rules there laid down would effectually safeguard the ryots' rights and interests. These rules have however remained inoperative and been disregarded, and the consequence has been a gradual encroachment of the zemindars upon the rights of the ryot in the soil, leading to a state of things which calls for legislative interference. The new law proposes now to take up and secure the rights and interests of the ryot in the soil, left untouched in the Permanent Settlement, without any interference with the present relations between the Government and the zemindar, which are to be left as fixed by the Permanent Settlement. The ryots' rights in the soil are to

be secured by giving him the three "F's," fixity of tenure, fair rent, and the free right of selling his interest in his holding. These proposed provisions Mr. MacDonnell defends with great skill, and certainly succeeds in making out a very good case for Government, and in supplying the zemindars with facts and arguments to dispose of and refute in many future speeches and memorials. This bold and definite statement of the official views, "which have the Lieutenant-Governor's entire concurrence," has furnished the zemindars with fresh matter for their denunciation, and in recent meetings the erroneous representations of Mr. MacDonnell have formed the subject of an additional resolution. The agitation, thus active here, is growing more active at home, where meetings have been held to denounce the measure, and questions asked in Parliament regarding its course. The latest outcome of the agitation is the formation of an "Indian Constitutional Association" in Calcutta, working in connection with a branch in London, whose object is to oppose all legislation which menaces existing rights of property, and to maintain the integrity of the Permanent Settlement. So that the whole machinery of political agitation is being rapidly imported into India from home. So far, however, the combination for political purposes is altogether on one side. We do not hear of the formation of any Ryots' League for the purpose of supporting the Rent Bill, unless there be any truth in the story that a combination of ryots, with the watchword "no rent," has taken place at Mymensingh.

Want of space forbids us to refer to many other interesting features in the history of the Quarter, such as the lively debates in the Bengal Council on the Municipalities Bill, or the movement that has been set on foot to induce Government to adopt some scheme for systematically and continuously extending railway communications in India. We must, however, make some reference to the ~~the~~ International Exhibition, the opening of which we noticed in our last "Quarter," and which was finally closed on the 10th March by His Excellency the Viceroy. The details of its management and history are sufficiently well-known through the daily press, and we need here only add a few remarks on its permanent influence upon India. Its main object was to give a lasting stimulus to Indian trade and industry, and although the hopes based upon it may have been a trifle exaggerated, there cannot be any doubt that, directly and indirectly, it has already effected much in this direction and will in the immediate future effect much more. Especially is this the case as regards the connection between India and the Australian Colonies. The Governments of those Colonies

made a great effort to put before the Indian public the infinite capacities of the great Southern Continent, and the result has shown itself in the extraordinary interest that has been taken in everything Australian during the course of the Exhibition, and in the establishment of a direct line of steamers to trade between India and the principal Australian ports. The first of these steamers, the pioneer of a new trade and the symbol of a new sense of brotherhood, has already set sail. Apart from the question of trade, which has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere, we can only rejoice at anything that tends to knit together the *disiecta membra* of the vast British Empire, and to develop and foster that feeling of close kinship which the attitude of the Colonial Office and the effect of habit has done so much to weaken and impair. Another permanent influence for good which the Exhibition has effected is in the increased attention which it has attracted to the importance of constituting on a systematic basis the Museums and Art Collections of the country. The Government of India has under its consideration an elaborate scheme for organizing under one control all the Museums of the country, and the Government of Bengal intends that the Exhibition shall leave behind it a permanent and complete Museum of Economics and Industrial Arts, of which the magnificent collections in the Exhibition are to form the nucleus. It is intended that this shall be, not merely a Museum, but also a school, conducted on much the same principles as the Science and Art Department at South Kensington. It is highly probable that one outcome of the intense interest in the economic products of India which the Exhibition has excited will be an elaborate and minute industrial survey of the resources of this vast country, a survey which often proposed and discussed, seems now likely to be taken up in earnest. But perhaps the most interesting, and certainly the most striking, effect of the Exhibition has been its influence upon the natives of the country. These have thronged its courts daily in wondering thousands, and have gone away deeply impressed with the marvellous products of Western civilization presented to their view. The impression made may be only temporary, but it is difficult to believe that it will not be without some educational influence in breaking up the torpor of stereotyped social habits, and in forcing the patient stationary Hindoo to begin an onward movement. In one direction, at any rate, the influence of the Exhibition upon Hindoo society has been little short of the marvellous. The ladies of the Hindoo households have broken their bonds and, leaving for the first time their prison-house in the zenanas, have visited the Exhibition in thousands. No custom of the East is more zealously guarded against Western innovation.

than the seclusion of women, and no custom has a more pernicious effect in retarding Hindoo progress and in neutralising the beneficial influences of Western thought and civilization. The barriers of the zenana have been broken down by the Exhibition, and, even if they are built up again, they can never be built with their old strength, but must the sooner yield permanently to the assaults of reason, humanity and common sense.

15th March, 1884. .

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Annual Financial Statement of the Government of India was published in a *Gazette Extraordinary* on March 14th. No changes requiring legislation are to be introduced during the coming year. This course is defended on the double ground that the management of Indian finances changed hands during the latter half of the financial year, and that the great changes introduced in 1882 83 in the departments of Customs and Salt render a policy of caution and observation absolutely essential, in order to watch the effect of those reforms, before entering on new changes in the fiscal system of India. This characteristic of the Financial Statement has been severely criticised. It is pointed out with some force that the finances of the country are under the charge, not of the Finance Minister alone, but of the Supreme Government as a whole, and that, although Sir Auckland Colvin may only recently have arrived in the country, the other members of the Executive Council have been long enough in office to come to some decision on such pressing matters as the License Tax, the Stamp duties, the development of railway communications, and the question whether the annual loan for productive public works shall be raised in India or in London. The system of publishing the Financial Statement in the form of a minute has also come in for strong condemnation. Under that system the Budget is sprung upon the public in its final form without any opportunity of previous discussion, and it may reasonably be argued that the better course would be to have it read and discussed in the Legislative Council before giving it finality, even in the case where no changes requiring legislation are proposed. This would at least give Government the opportunity of correcting possible mistakes, and of ascertaining the views of the mercantile community on their proposals before it is too late to change them. It would prevent, too, the possibility of the charge of seeking to shirk publicity being brought against Government, as has been done pretty widely over this last Budget.

Apart from these objections, Sir Auckland Colvin's first financial statement discloses, on the whole, a very satisfactory condition of the finances of the country, and is, besides, presented in an exceptionally lucid style. It deals, as usual, with three financial years, the Accounts of 1882-83, the Revised Estimates of the past year 1883-84, and the Estimates for the ensuing year 1884-85.

The Accounts for 1882-83 show an actual surplus of £706,633. The estimated surplus in the Budget of that year was £285,000, which was thus exceeded by £421,633, and this in spite of a heavy unanticipated expenditure in connection with the war in Egypt, and a loss by exchange of £306,400 above the estimate.

The Revised Estimates for the past year, 1883-84, are as follows:—

Revenue	...	£	70,569,900
Expenditure	...		70,298,500
Surplus	...		271,400

The original Estimates were—

Revenue	...	£	69,022,000
Expenditure	...		68,565,000
Surplus	...		457,000

The Revised Surplus is thus less than the Estimated Surplus by £185,600. But Sir Auckland Colvin shows that during the year an altogether exceptional and temporary unanticipated expenditure of £1,346,000 had to be met, and that, apart from this cause, the surplus for the year would have been £1,617,400. This exceptional expenditure is made up of two items? (1) £346,000, being the loss by exchange on a sum of £1,500,000 remitted during the year to the Secretary of State in addition to the sum originally estimated for; (2) £1,000,000 paid to the War Office on account of arrears of non-effective charges connected with the portion of the British army serving in India. The nature of this extraordinary demand from the War Office is thus explained by Sir Auckland:—

"Prior to 1822 the East India Company was not called on to pay any thing for non-effective charges on account of the portion of the British army serving in India, but from 1822 to 1861 the rule which governed the division of these charges between England and India was one of a fixed payment by India to England of £60,000 a year; from 1861 to 1870 this latter rule was abandoned in favour of a capitation payment; and finally, in 1870, the principle of a capitation payment was abandoned in favour of a system under which the capitalised value of the share of the pensions chargeable against Indian Revenues is paid by the Indian to the English Treasury.

Thus, if a soldier is discharged on pension after serving a portion of his time in India, the latter country is held to be liable for a share of his pension, bearing the same ratio to his whole pension that the period of his service in India bears to his whole service, and the capital value of the share of the pension chargeable to India is paid over to the English Treasury, which then becomes liable for the whole pension. The system introduced in 1870 is the system in force at present, and owing to delay at home in preparing the intricate calculations necessary before presenting the final accounts, arrears have accumulated, to the payment of which the million sterling above referred to will be devoted. The calculation of the amount payable by India is necessarily very complicated, as it depends largely on the death-rate of special classes, for whom special life tables had not been constructed, and because the Indian Government is entitled to set-offs and credits of various kinds. It was known, therefore, that the calculations were in arrears, and that payments had not been made of the full sums that would ultimately be claimed, but the Government of India was wholly unprepared for the magnitude of the claims (nearly 2½ millions true sterling) suddenly made against it."

Apart from these extraordinary charges, the Revised Estimates for 1883-84 would show a surplus of £1,617,400 instead of the original estimate of £457,000. This satisfactory state of affairs is due to an increase under almost all the principal heads of revenue. The increase in the revenue from Opium over the original estimate is £283,200, which is due to Bengal Opium having fetched Rs. 1,250 per chest instead of Rs. 1,200 as estimated. The increase in the receipts from Salt over the estimate is £100,200. In connection with this, Sir Auckland Colvin discusses at some length the effects of the reduction of duty upon the consumption of salt. The figures advanced show that the consumption of this important article is steadily and rapidly increasing and justify the hope expressed by the Finance Minister that "the consumption of salt will yield a progressively increasing revenue for some time to come, and should a further reduction of duty be hereafter made, we may confidently expect it to be met as promptly and satisfactorily by a corresponding expansion in the demand."

As regards Railways, the increase over the estimates is £356,800 for State Railways, £375,000 for the East Indian Railway, whilst, on the other hand, there is a decrease of £174,000 on the traffic receipts of Guaranteed Railways. This decrease is again only apparent in the main, being due mostly to a debit of £325,000 against the Revenue Account of the Sind, Punjab and Delhi Railway, in adjusting the loss on that Company's flotilla. That part of Sir Auckland's statement which is devoted to a discussion of the financial results of Indian Railways will probably be of most interest to the public. Sir Auckland shows that, during the five financial years ending 1884-85, the net result to

the State of its connection with railways is a gain of £3,270,843, the estimates for the forthcoming year being included. The financial success of Indian railways being thus demonstrated, Sir Auckland ventures to rebuke the capitalists of the country for their want of enterprise and spirit in looking continually to Government to initiate and support railway extension.

"The Government of India is fully alive to the necessity and the advantages, in the interests no less of the State than of the public, of a vigorous policy in regard to its public works. But there are indications that the mercantile public, whose interest in the matter is little less than that of the State, while actively pressing for a policy such as that above indicated and confident of prospective profits, is disposed to throw the burden and risk of such works as must be undertaken too entirely on the resources of the Government. These resources are necessarily limited; and if, as is urged, as experience is daily shewing, and as from the figures given is proved to demonstration, the remunerative character of railway enterprise in India, when prudently carried out, is unquestionable, it may be fairly demanded that those whose interests in that enterprise are so considerable should not be backward in acting on the confidence of which they give to the Government reiterated assurances."

It is perhaps unfortunate for the effect of Sir Auckland's well-meant rebuke that its appearance should have been immediately preceded by the publication in the papers of a long correspondence between the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company and the India Office. This effectually disposes of Sir Auckland's rebuke. If any rebuke be necessary, it is due, not to the capitalists of the country, but to the authorities at the India Office. This correspondence contains in detail the history of an honest and persistent effort made by the Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to obtain sanction for the construction by private enterprise of a line from Cawnpore to Agra. In spite of the so loudly professed willingness of the India Office authorities to encourage private enterprise in railways, the proposals for the new line were met by an official opposition of an extraordinary and inexplicable persistency, culminating in the final decision of Government that permission to construct the line, by private enterprise and on private responsibility, would only be granted on the promoters agreeing to pay to Government half the profits over six per cent., and to hand over the whole line to Government without compensation at the end of 99 years! This is an admirable commentary on Sir Auckland Colvin's appeal to private enterprise. It is by no means a solitary instance of the sort of encouragement which promoters of railway extension in India receive from the Secretary of State and his surroundings. The Government of India is no doubt anxious to promote railway extension and to encourage the investment of private capital in such undertakings, but so

long as this spirit rules the Secretary of State's Council, its efforts to that end are not likely to be very efficacious. Sir Auckland Colvin writes:—

"The Government of India submitted to the Secretary of State in January 1883 its views on the extension of the railway system in India, and proposed for adoption a scheme of works and expenditure calculated to give a great impulse, whether by State or private enterprise, to the construction of railways during the next five years. The appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to examine into the subject has led temporarily to the scheme being put aside; but the Government has lost no opportunity of urging its views on the Secretary of State, and insisting on the great importance which it attaches to a comprehensive and vigorous treatment of the question. It has deputed two carefully selected officers to represent those views before the Committee, and it has every confidence that their representations will receive the attention which the importance of the subject and their own experience deserve."

It is to be hoped, that the labours of this Committee may result in exorcising the evil spirit that has undoubtedly hitherto presided over the Council of India in its deliberations regarding railway matters.

Passing on to the Budget Estimates for the ensuing year, 1884-85, these are as follows:—

Revenue ...	...	...	...	£ 70,560,400
Expenditure ...	...	...	...	70,241,100
Surplus				319,300

These figures are very nearly the same as those of the Revised Estimates for the past year. But the revenue would be considerably greater, and the expenditure considerably less, so as to produce a much greater surplus, if it were not for the marked failure of the Opium crop for 1883, followed by the prospect of an exceptionally good crop in 1884. The failure of the Opium crop of 1883 renders it necessary to reduce the number of chests of Bengal Opium to be sold during 1884, so that the gross receipts from the sale of opium will be considerably lower than in 1883. The prospect of a better crop this year renders an increased outlay necessary, and the result of both these causes is that the "net receipts from Opium, after deducting the cost of production, are estimated at £6,241,300 as against £7,619,700 in the revised estimates of the preceding year." This very heavy fall in the revenue from opium is sufficient to obscure the natural progressive growth in the revenues derived from other sources, notably from railways. Under State Railways (productive) the Budget Estimate allows for an increase of £629,600 on the Revised Estimates of last year: under Guaranteed Railways,

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an increase of £21,500; under State Railways not classed as productive, an increase of £21,300. In the case of the East Indian Railway, however, the estimates allow for a decrease of £180,000 on the revenue of the preceding year, "the reason being the indifferent prospects of the year's harvests in parts of India, and the slackening in the export trade owing to low prices in Europe, and large stocks there and elsewhere."

The customary loan of £2,500,000 for Productive Public Works will have to be raised before the end of September, regarding which Sir Auckland remarks:—

"This must be done either by raising a loan in India, or by reducing the amount of drawings which the Secretary of State estimates to be required in the first half of the year to meet the demands on the Home Treasury. I greatly regret that I am at present unable to announce definitely which of these two measures will be adopted; and I am well aware that much inconvenience will be caused by the continuance of uncertainty on this important subject. I can only add that the announcement will be made at the earliest opportunity after the decision of the Secretary of State has been received. The Estimates, meanwhile, have been prepared on the basis of the procedure recently adopted, that is to say, of a loan in India."

This statement has produced no little adverse comment, and the commercial world have protested angrily and vigorously against the inconvenience caused by the inability of Government to come to a speedy decision on so important a point.

In his discussion of the details of the Budget, Sir Auckland Colvin incidentally refers to two very important changes contemplated by Government. The first of these is that, with a view to prevent extravagance or neglect, it has been decided to fix a minimum balance for each Provincial Government or Administration. For Bengal this is fixed at £200,000, and as the opening balance for that Province is only £15,300, it will probably take some time before the minimum figure is reached. This decision of Government seems to be a wise measure of precaution, and meets with general approval.

The other measure contemplated by Government to which Sir Auckland incidentally refers is little less than the introduction of a sort of Permanent Settlement throughout India. We quote Sir Auckland in full:—

"With regard to the cost of settlement and survey operations, it may be well to state briefly here the results of important correspondence which has taken place during the last year between the Government of India and Her Majesty's Secretary of State. It is known that for some time the attention of the Government of India has been seriously drawn to the growing effect of excessive enhancements of land-revenues in various parts of India, and recently the Revenue and Agricultural Department have been considering the best method of placing some efficient check on this great evil. At the same time, some of the most important settlements effected in Northern India have fallen in, others will amount to nothing, and the

